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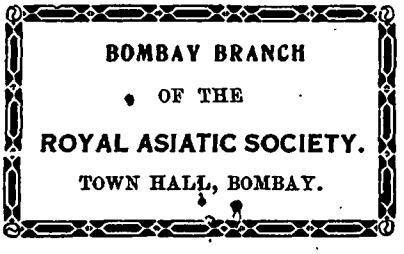

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE

VOL. II.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS:

Part the Second;

EMBRACING

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD,

FROM THE

DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH A

SURVEY OF PRECEDING PERIODS,

AND A CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND
ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μην τοιγε της απαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ομοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως τις αν εφικοιτο, και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, αμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. VII.

Murders in the Family of Alexander. — Antigonus's Expedition into Babylonia. — His Nephew revolts to Ptolemy. — Demetrias emancipates Greece? — His romantic Character and Proceedings. — Invades Cyprus. — Tragical Events there. — Siege of Salamis. — The Helepolis. — Demetrius's decisive Naval Victory. — How announced to Antigonus. — He assumes the Title of King. — In this, imitated by his Rivals. — Unsuccessful Expedition against Egypt. — State of that Kingdom. — Makes war on Rhodes. — History, Institutions, and Connections of that Island. — The Siege of Rhodes raised. — Demetrius's second Expedition into Greece. — Views of Antigonus. — Secrecy of the Confederacy against him. — Campaign in Lesser Asia. — Decisive Battle of Ipsus. - - - - *Page* 1

CHAP. VIII.

New Partition of the Empire. — Flight of Demetrius to Greece. — His Transactions there and in Thrace. — Marries his Daughter to Seleucus. — Surprises the Strongholds in Cilicia. — Sends Pyrrhus as Hostage into Egypt. — History of Cassander and his Sons. — Demetrius King of Macedon. — Lysimachus's War beyond the Danube. —

Demetrius's second Greatness. — His City Demetrias. — His capricious Government. — Macedon wrested from him by Lysimachus. — His Expedition into Lesser Asia. — Captivity, Death, and Character. — Polygamy — its Effects on the Affairs of Alexander's Successors. — Ptolemy, his Wives and Sons. — His younger Son raised by him to the Throne. — Tragedy in the Family of Lysimachus. — Which involves him in War with Seleucus. — Motives and Views of the latter Prince. — Story of his Son Antiochus and Wife Stratonicé. — Lysimachus slain in the Battle of Corupedion. — His Character. — New Cities. — Fond Hopes of Seleucus. — Is assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunus. — Motives of the Assassin. — Seleucus's Character. — His new Cities. — Ptolemy Soter. — His wise Administration. — Prosperous State of Egypt. — Letters, Sciences, and Arts. — Coronation Festival of his Son - - - - - - *Page* 73

CHAP. IX.

Western Greeks. — Their Misfortunes through the Dissolution of the Pythagorean Band. — They are defended by Alexander of Epirus. — Their Revolutions to the Reign of Agathocles. — His Enormities. — Description of Carthage and its Possessions. — Siege of Syracuse. — Agathocles invades Africa. — His Conquests there. — League in Sicily, resembling that of the Achæans. — Agathocles's Proceedings with Ophellas, the Usurper of Cyrené. — Bomilcar's Conspiracy. — Agathocles, King of Africa. — Greeks detached into the Inland Country. — Disasters and Defections. — Agathocles's final Return to Sicily. — His subsequent Proceedings and tragic Death. — His Mercenaries called Mamertines. — They usurp Messené. — State of Sicily - - - - - 148

CHAP. X.

Disorders on the Death of Seleucus. — New Kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus. — Gaul

prepare their Irruption. — Transactions preceding that Event: I. in the Kingdom of the Greeks, or Syria; II. in Egypt; III. in Macedon; IV. in Thrace; V. in Greece. — Gauls, their Migrations. — Arts and Manners. — Assail Macedon, and slay Keraunus. — Invade Greece. — Marvellously defeated at Delphi. — More probable Account of their Catastrophe. — Gallic Kingdom of Tulé. — Their ambulatory Dominion in Lesser Asia. — They establish themselves in New Gaul, or Galatia. — Their Pursuits in that Country, and improved Manners - - *Page* 234

CHAP. XI.

Effects of the Gallic Invasion. — Reign of Antigonus Gonatas. — The Achæan League. — Reign of Antiochus Soter. Accession of Antiochus Theos. — Revolt of Parthia and Bactria. — Horrid Transactions in Syria. — Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. — Tragic Events in Cyrené. — Flourishing State of Egypt. — Army. — Navy. — Treasury. — Productive and commercial Industry. — Canals and Harbours. — Picture of Nations between the Nile and the Red Sea. — Ptolemy's Views with regard to the Commerce carried on by the Ethiopian Nomades. — Arts and Sciences. — *Constellations of Poets.* — *Historians.* — *Philosophers.* — Ptolemy's Intercourse by Embassies with Rome and Carthage. — Transition to the History of the Growth and Aggrandisement of Rome - - 269

CHAP. XII.

Distinctions between the Greek Colonies in Latium, and those in Magna Græcia. — Foundation of Rome. — Views and Institutions of Romulus. — Parallel between Rome and Athens. — Wars of the Romans under the Kings. — Improvements of Rome, in point of Strength, Beauty, and Salubrity. — Wars with the Tarquins. — Italian Wars under the Consuls. — How the Æqui and Volsci were enabled to resist two Centuries. — Siege of Veii. — Legionary order of Battle. — Rome taken by the Gauls. — Destruction of these Invaders. — War with the Samnites.

— Rebellion of the Latins and Campanians. — Settlement of the Roman Conquests. — War with Palæpolis. — Jealousy of Tarentum. — Her Artifices for embroiling Rome with the Lucanians and Samnites. — Caudine Forks. — The Romans protect Thurii. — Survey the Coast of Magna Græcia. — Pyrrhus chosen General of Tarentum. His Expeditions into Italy and Sicily. — The Romans subdue the continental Part of Magna Græcia. — Causes of the first Punic War. — Its History. — Sicily divided between the Romans and King Hiero - *Page* 344

CHAP. XIII.

Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. — Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers.—Respected Neutrality of Aradus. — Seleucus made Captive in Parthia. — Reigns of Demetrius II. of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. — Progress of the Achæan League. — Agis and Cleomenes. — The Cleomenic War. — Battle of Sellasia. — Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. — His Transactions with the Jews. — Accession of Ptolemy Philopater. — His Profligacy and Cruelty. — The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. — Liberality of the commercial Connections of that State 456

CHAP. XIV.

Fourth Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Revolt of Media and Persis from Antiochus III. — Intrigues of his Minister, Hermeias. — War in Upper Asia. — Negociations with Ptolemy Philopator. — Address of Ptolemy's Minister Sosibius. — Battle of Raphia. — Achæus's Power in Lesser Asia. — War of Commerce between the Rhodians and Byzantines. — Achæus besieged in Sardes. — His Capture and Death. — Antiochus's Expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. — He rescues Gerra from Arabs. — Last Stages of Ptolemy Philopator's Reign. — Profanation of the Jewish Temple. — Sedition in Alexandria. — Letters and Arts - - - - 514

THE

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CHAP. VII.

Murders in the Family of Alexander.—Antigonus's Expedition into Babylonia.—His Nephew revolts to Ptolemy.—Demetrius emancipates Greece.—His romantic Character and Proceedings.—Invades Cyprus.—Tragical Events there.—Siege of Salamis.—The Helepolis.—Demetrius's decisive Naval Victory.—How announced to Antigonus.—He assumes the Title of King.—In this, imitated by his Rivals.—Unsuccessful Expedition against Egypt.—State of that Kingdom.—Makes War on Rhodes.—History, Institutions, and Connections of that Island.—The Siege of Rhodes raised.—Demetrius's second Expedition into Greece.—Views of Antigonus.—Secrecy of the Confederacy against him.—Campaign in Lesser Asia.—Decisive Battle of Ipsus.

CHAP. VII.

Murder of Alexander

THE empire of Alexander, though in reality divided among his lieutenants, was still held together in appearance by a pretended venera-

CHAP. VII.

Ægus and Roxana. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

tion for his family. In the late treaty of peace between Antigonus and Demetrius on one hand, and Ptolemy with his allies Cassander and Lysimachus on the other, it was stipulated that the government of Macedon should be administered by Cassander, until the youth Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained the age of majority.[1] This condition was specified on the presumption that the son of the Macedonian hero would naturally establish his court in his ancient hereditary kingdom, from whence sovereign orders would flow[2] to the long chain of dependent provinces. When the young Alexander reached the age of manhood, the viceroy of Macedon might then be entrusted with some other government; and in the same manner, the other generals, holding their appointments provisionally, would either be confirmed in them, or removed, according to the will of the king, approved by his council and confirmed by his nation. Such were the specious hopes with which the generals of Alexander insulted the family of that prince, and deluded the deep-rooted loyalty of the Macedonian people, who, both at home and abroad, still formed the sinews and pride of their respective armies. Alexander Ægus remained meanwhile in strict confinement with his mother Roxana, in the strong citadel of Amphipolis. In consequence of the treaty acknowledging his just title to the throne, the

[1] Diodor. l. ix. §. 105.

[2] For the political freedom of Macedon, see above, p. 28.

voice of the public became louder in his favour, claiming not only his release, from unworthy captivity, but demanding for him an establishment becoming the high dignity to which he was destined. Provoked by these clamours, Cassander at once secured the permanence of his own power, and gratified the views of the other satraps, with whom he had just confederated, by procuring the death of the young prince. Glaucias, the keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, is said to have been his agent in this execrable crime. The beautiful Roxana was involved in the fate of her son.[a] The circumstances of their murder were never clearly brought to light, otherwise it would have been impossible to restrain the vengeance of the enraged multitude.

Polysperchon brings into Greece Alexander's son Hercules. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

The consequences of this deed of darkness occasioned, from an unexpected quarter, a new alarm to its author. The old and selfish Polysperchon, who retained possession of some strongholds in Peloponnesus, still laboured on the brink of the grave to gratify his lust of power. Shortly after the premature death, as it was called, of Alexander Ægus, he gave intimation of that event to Hercules the son of Alexander by Barcina, then residing in Pergamus, four years older than his brother recently murdered, but from the illegitimacy of his birth deemed incapable of succession. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Hercules, at the instigation of

[a] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 105.

CHAP. VII.

Polysperchon, made sail towards Greece in hopes of mounting the throne of his ancestors.[4] In promoting this bold undertaking, which would have had a dazzling kind of merit, had it proceeded from honest motives, Polysperchon obtained the hearty co-operation of his countrymen, the restless Etolians: his standard was joined by many malecontents from Macedon: he stood on the frontiers of that kingdom, with an army twenty thousand strong; and the troops with which Cassander marched to oppose him, wavered in their affections. The danger was imminent; but Cassander knew the man with whom he had to deal. By bribes and promises he prevailed with Polysperchon to murder the youth, whom he affected to honour as his sovereign.[5] Polysperchon did not obtain the principal object which he had in view, in perpetrating so dreadful an enormity. This was the command in Peloponnesus, towards which country, with the recommendation and aid of Cassander, he now directed his march. But the inhabitants of that peninsula, assisted by the Bœotians, opposed his return southward.[6] He was obliged to winter in Locris, and from thence retired to a castle commanding a small district between Epirus and Etolia. The recovery of this strong-hold, which had formerly belonged to him, and of which he had been deprived by Cassander, now rewarded

Murder of that young prince. Olymp. cxvii. 4. B. C. 309.

[4] Diodor. l. xx. s. 20.

[5] Diodor. l. xx. s. 28. It is uncertain whether Hercules was poisoned or strangled. Conf. Pausanias, l. ix. c. 17. Plutarch, tom. ii. p. 530.

[6] Diodor. ibid.

his detestable wickedness; and here probably this veteran in villany, who had once swayed the protectoral sceptre, ended many years afterwards his ignominious life; a life deformed by every thing atrocious in cruelty and base in perfidy.[7]

Murder of Alexander's sister Cleopatra. — Occasion thereof. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

As the destruction of Alexander Ægus had inflamed the ambition, and produced the swift ruin of Hercules, so the removal of both these sons of the great Macedonian, revived the hopes, and occasioned the speedy murder of his sister Cleopatra. That princess, of whom we have before spoken, still resided in Sardes the capital of Lydia. She had been successively courted by Leonnatus and Perdiccas, who, when their nuptials with her were on the point of consummation, had fallen unpitied victims to their ambitious love. The cautious Ptolemy had delayed to solicit her hand, until the death of her nephews made it a prize more worthy of his pursuit. Cleopatra accepted the proposal, and was preparing to leave Sardes, when Antigonus commanded the governor of that place cruelly to frustrate her purpose. The murder of Cleopatra was ascribed to a treacherous conspiracy of her attendants[8], who were punished by a public execution; while the princess herself was interred by Antigonus with royal honours; an artifice which repressed clamour, without deceiving the public. Of all the family of Alexander and his father Philip, Thessalonica, the

[7] Tzezes in Lycoph. Cassand. v. 801.

[8] Diodor. l. xx. c. 37.

CHAP. VII.

wife of Cassander, alone survived. Her fate was suspended sixteen years longer; then also to end most tragically.

Antigonus's fruitless expedition against Seleucus.

The confederates in the war against Antigonus had gladly concluded peace, in order to save their respective dominions. That general himself had been determined to the same measure, by the hope of wresting from Seleucus the eastern provinces. His expedition into Upper Asia shortly after his accommodation with his western enemies is a matter of record. A battle is mentioned of doubtful issue; after which, Seleucus, by making his men sleep in their armour, surprised his adversary next morning, and obtained over him a decided advantage.[9] But neither is the year of these events ascertained, nor are any of their incidents or consequences particularly related. It should seem that Seleucus, strong in the affections of his subjects, and elated with a long series of eastern triumphs, was able to make such stout resistance, as determined Antigonus to suspend farther hostility in that quarter, until he could assail the foe with a more commanding superiority. Although, from local circumstances above explained, nature herself seems to have determined, by the interposition of mountains, marshes, and deserts, that Upper and Lower Asia should not be subject to the same power, yet Alexander's successors were continually encouraged by his example, in the hope of conquering the East

[9] Polyænus, l. iv. Voc. Seleucus.

through the valour of the West. Antigonus, therefore, might resolve to build up and firmly cement the dominions of which he was already in possession, postponing to a fitter time the design of directing their consolidated weight against his great oriental adversary.

Importance of Antigonus's dominions.

Besides the invaluable country of Syria formerly described, he was master of almost the whole peninsula of Asia, inhabited by a mixed assemblage of agricultural and commercial nations, sprung partly from Greece and the contiguous provinces of Europe. This strong admixture of European blood gave, in a military point of view, great advantages to a territory naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and whose lands derived a vast increase of value from the rich and populous seaports that every where enlivened its western and southern coasts. Besides these seaports, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, the peninsula contained eleven distinct territories, of which the seven smaller extended, each of them, about seventy or fourscore miles in diameter. Of these seven, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, looked towards Greece, from which their shores had been colonized. Lycia and Pamphylia were washed by the Mediterranean; Paphlagonia and Pontus, by the Euxine. The four larger provinces were Phrygia and Cappadocia in the centre; Bithynia, contiguous to the northern district of Paphlagonia; and Cilicia, to the southern district of Pamphylia.[10]

[10] Strabo, l. xiv. passim. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 27. et seq.

CHAP. VII.

Young Ptolemy revolts from his uncle Antigonus. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

Not contented with this long list of territories, Antigonus retained possession of Greek commonwealths on his coasts, which, according to an article in the late treaty, ought to have resumed their ancient liberties. His nephew, young Ptolemy, was commanded also to keep firm hold of his conquests in Greece itself. But this young man, whose ruling passion was the love of fame, and who, as we have before seen, had acquired great glory as the deliverer of Greece from Cassander, very negligently observed his uncle's orders: and upon some unknown cause of disgust, his wounded pride threw him into the party of those who ventured once more to declare themselves the enemies of that formidable usurper.[11] Cassander, in defiance of his engagements, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; and Egyptian Ptolemy sailed with a large fleet that, under pretence of carrying the treaty of peace into execution, he might claim his equal share in the common booty. Such was the natural consequence of the fallacious agreement giving freedom to states, which, as the contracting parties well knew, had neither military resources nor patriotism to defend the inestimable present.

Is suspected and put to death by Egyptian Ptolemy.

The Egyptian fleet easily gained possession of the smaller Greek seaports on the southern coast of Lesser Asia; and Ptolemy was strenuously employed in the siege of Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, when the arrival of Deme-

[11] Diodor. l. xx. s. 19.

trius with a still superior fleet, obliged him to raise the siege, and gradually to abandon all his conquests in that peninsula. The neighbouring isles, many of which had been garrisoned by Antigonus, were the next object of his pretended emancipation.[12] In the isle of Côs he was joined, according to his desire, by young Ptolemy, who heartily concurred with the pretended generosity of his views; and who had given orders to Phœnix, his deputy it seems in Hellespontian Phrygia, to maintain for him that province against the arms of his uncle. Antigonus dispatched his younger son Philip with a force that effectually crushed the rebellion of Phœnix; about the same time that his master fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of his namesake, the Egyptian satrap. That crafty prince, who really entertained none of the romantic notions of young Ptolemy on the subject of Grecian liberty, distrusted his impracticable character, his pride, and the engaging popularity of his behaviour towards the soldiers. On the suspicion that he tampered with their allegiance, the nephew of Antigonus was seized, imprisoned, and obliged to drink hemlock[13]; a death well merited, it may be thought, by his treachery to his uncle; yet, had this extraordinary youth lived at a happier æra, and been abetted by followers worthy the Grecian name, he might have proved the deliverer of once illustrious com-

[12] Diodor. l. xix. s. 19. & 27.

[13] Diodor. l. xix. s. 27.

CHAP. VII.

monwealths from the iron grasp of stern military usurpers.

Ptolemy divides the strongholds of Greece with Cassander. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

The Egyptian satrap, having perpetrated this act of cruelty in the isle of Côs, and joined the troops of young Ptolemy with his own, sailed to the continent of Greece, and under pretence of restoring freedom to that country, gained possession of Corinth and Sicyon. To aid him in completing his professed plan, the states of Peloponnesus were required to raise, by a fixed time, certain subsidies in money and provisions. But as they neglected to perform this condition, Ptolemy declined further interference in their affairs; entered into an agreement with Cassander, that each should retain the cities which he actually possessed; and having placed strong garrisons in Corinth and Sicyon, returned with his fleet to Egypt.[14]

Demetrius's expedition for emancipating Greece. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

The delusive project of emancipation, thus openly abandoned by Ptolemy, was undertaken by Antigonus. By strenuous preparations on the coast of the peninsula and of Syria, he had equipped two hundred and fifty galleys. With this fleet, and a sum of five thousand talents, Demetrius was sent to execute the generous purpose of his father; whose concern, however, for the happiness of the Greeks in Europe was exposed to well-grounded suspicion, since their brethren in Asia were really treated by him as conquered subjects. But this inconsistency Antigonus endeavoured by artificial distinctions

[14] Diodor. l. xx. s. 37.

CHAP. VII.

to reconcile; and to a counsellor, who advised him to lay fast hold of Athens as a ladder for climbing to the sovereignty of Greece, he replied, "that the only ladder not subject to accidents was the love of the Athenians, which he was determined to merit by good offices; since their immortal city, he considered as the light-house of the world, calculated to blaze[15] his renown through the most distant nations of the earth."

His successful and generous proceedings.

The armament of Demetrius greatly exceeded the expectation of friends as well as enemies to the Macedonian interest in Athens. When it appeared off the coast, the Athenians of all parties believed that so powerful a fleet could belong only to Ptolemy, Cassander's ally. In the profound security of the partisans of the latter prince, then invested with the entire disposal of the national force, the Piræus was left unguarded, until the vessel of Demetrius approached so nearly, that he himself could be distinctly seen by the spectators who crowded the shore, beckoning them with his hand, and requesting the favour of an audience. He declared in few words, "that he had been sent by his father to expel the Macedonian garrison, and to liberate from unworthy bondage the most illustrious city in the world." His speech being re-echoed by the clear voice of a herald, the Athenians were in commotion; the majority threw down the

[15] Διαπυροσειν. Plutarch in Demet. A metaphor from the signals by fire, above described.

CHAP. VII.

arms which they had hastily seized; and Demetrius landed amidst loud acclamations that drowned all opposition. Having thanked his friends, he exchanged hostages with the magistrates, and received possession of a city which Demetrius Phalereus had governed during ten years. The Phalerean, who, notwithstanding the mildness and popularity of his administration, justly dreaded the capricious resentment of the Athenian populace, was kindly protected by the invader; entertained with the respect due to the splendour of his talents and virtues; and, at his own desire, allowed to remove under a proper escort to Thebes, which, as a city deeply indebted to his friend Cassander, he chose for the place of his retreat. The fortified harbour Munychia was indeed still defended by the gallantry of Dionysius, commanding a Macedonian garrison. Demetrius left part of his troops to besiege it, and with the other surprised the city of Megara, about twenty miles distant; expelled Cassander's garrison; and proclaimed freedom to that small but once respectable commonwealth. Having returned to Athens, he gained the Munychia after an obstinate assault of two days. Dionysius and his troops were made prisoners. The revolution, remarkable for its mildness, was now complete; and, in order to render it permanent, Demetrius, whose mind appears to have undergone a revolution not less sudden, promised amply to supply the emancipated Athenians both with the means of subsistence and the instruments of defence. The

CHAP. VII.

want of corn in their own narrow and barren territory, they had been accustomed to supply by copious importations, chiefly from the coasts of the Propontis and Euxine. But their ships of war were no more, by which only they could protect this distant and indispensable branch of commerce. At the request of his son, Antigonus sent them timber for building an hundred galleys, and provided them at once with an hundred and ten thousand quarters of grain; accompanying these presents with high professions of respect, and the restitution of the isle of Imbros, which, until the fatal issue of the Lamian war, had been the immemorial possession of their ancestors. [16]

Change operated on Demetrius at Athens.—His romantic character.

In this generous proceeding, Antigonus followed, indeed, the *letter* of his own positive declarations, but he adopted it in reality at the earnest solicitation of Demetrius, whom he had long cherished with the fondest partiality. Besides undeviating filial duty, Demetrius had many qualities fitted to excite esteem. His zeal in his father's service was seconded by indefatigable activity. To great military and great naval talents, he added the more appropriate merit of great mechanical ingenuity, displayed in his engines of superior efficacy in sieges [17], and in his galleys of an unexampled size and

[16] Plutarch in Demet. and Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45, 46.

[17] In these discoveries he appears to have been assisted by Epimachus an Athenian, and Hegetor of Byzantium. Vid. Athenæi Lib. de Machinis Bellicis ad M. Marcellum, apud Veteres Mathematicos. Paris, 1693.

CHAP. VII.

inimitable swiftness. His mind refined by art, sharpened by science, and enlarged by an experience far beyond his years, was however fatally enslaved by the love of fame and of pleasure; passions inflamed to the most vicious excess through the indulgence of his father, and the boundless servility of the Athenians. The extravagant honours heaped on him by the multitude, who treated him as their god, their saviour, the oracle whom on all occasions they were bound to consult and obey, and whose decisions alone constituted right and wrong; these absurdities, which appear to the modern reader equally ridiculous and unaccountable, originated chiefly in the external qualities of Demetrius, operating on the fantastic and degenerate superstition of his times. His person, to use the language of antiquity [18], was arrayed in that dignity of beauty which beamed from the statues of the gods, and particularly of Bacchus, not the jolly divinity of modern poets, but the awful and benignant conqueror, uniting the loftiest majesty with ineffable grace. Bacchus, therefore, was the model which the son of Antigonus aspired to rival, both in his indefatigable exertions in time of war, and in the splendid festivities with which he improved and embellished the fruits of victory: when glory summoned to arms, the most enterprising, the most vigilant, of men; but when the conflict terminated in triumph, relaxing into soft effe-

[18] Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 3.

minacy and unbridled voluptuousness. Among all the surviving generals of Alexander, since Ptolemy was still contented to be thought the son of Lagus, Antigonus alone deduced his origin from Temenus, the descendant of Hercules, and revered founder of the Macedonian dynasty. The pride of blood thus conspired with other peculiarities in Demetrius's situation to exalt his hopes, and inflame his ambition: his romantic enthusiasm received with complacence such distinctions as might be conferred on him consistently with the genius of paganism; and the lightness of his ill-balanced mind was assailed, and completely overset, by flatteries in direct contradiction to the received maxims of the Athenians in matters not only of religion but of government and morals. He was honoured with the title of king, a title for many preceding centuries held in the utmost abhorrence by those zealous republicans. The establishment of annual archons was abolished; and the Athenian year was thenceforward to be named after the priests of the new god, Demetrius the saviour: *his* shrine was to be consulted instead of the Delphian oracle; *his* name was to be substituted for Dionysus in the festival of the Bacchanalia; and by a law surpassing every extravagance of adulation that despotism ever extorted from oriental slavery, all the words and actions of Demetrius were declared to be essentially characterised by piety towards the gods and justice towards men. It is not to be imagined, however, that the

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

Athenians were unanimous in this abominable prostitution of their ancient dignity. The disgraceful decrees, proposed by demagogues and buffoons, were lashed with sharp ridicule in the comedies of Philippides and Menander, and rejected with scornful disdain by the indignant schools of Theophrastus and Stilpon. But the majority of a degenerate populace[19] was not to be corrected either by reason or by ridicule; and their resentment, long impotent in the field of battle, became again formidable in the courts of justice. Demetrius Phalereus, whose equitable and mild administration, had greatly benefited his country, was tried in his absence and condemned capitally. His statues were insultingly mutilated; and his friend Menander narrowly escaped death, having incautiously remained in person within the cruel grasp of an enraged popular tribunal.[20]

He embraces sincerely the design of liberating Greece.

The vile behaviour of the Athenians received a false colour from the ruling passions of Demetrius, and excited in his susceptible breast the liveliest emotions of gratitude. He considered not, that the loftiest honours may be degraded and rendered of no value, through the total unworthiness of those by whom they are conferred. In the warmth of his undistinguishing fancy, he was betrayed by the sameness of a name, and spoke of the Athenians of his own time as if they had consisted of those

[19] Plutarch in Demetrio.

[20] Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Demet. Phaler. l. v. s. 79

heroes and patriots, whose renown had once filled the world. Instead of the meanness of contemporary objects, he beheld only the ancient glory of the republic; the wisdom of its laws, the prowess of its arms, the splendour of its monuments, the pre-eminence of those unperishing productions of the mind, by which its fame was to be indefinitely extended in point both of space and of time. The project of liberating Greece, or at least Athens, which had been merely a pretence with other generals, became with Demetrius a serious undertaking, a real substantial concern. CHAP. VII.

Amidst his measures for this purpose, he was recalled, however, by orders from Antigonus, who perceived with regret that, while Ptolemy was possessed of the isle of Cyprus, it would be impossible to defend the southern coast of Lesser Asia against naval descents. He had at length equipped a fleet fully equal to that of the Egyptian satrap; and the acquisition of Cyprus, while it secured his other dominions, would give him the decided sovereignty of the seas. A most unjustifiable transaction on the part of his rival, loudly summoned to that quarter the fiercest rage of the war. Ever since Ptolemy had acquired the ascendency in Cyprus, his half-brother Menelaus had remained there, commanding a sufficient force to overawe the petty princes, among whom the island had long been divided. The venerable line of Teucer and Evagoras, the most illustrious in the country, had transferred its government

Is sent by Antigonus to make the conquest of Cyprus. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

State of that island.

CHAP. VII.

from Salamis, the ancient capital, to the Arcadian[21] colony of Paphos, ennobled by the partial fondness of the fairest and softest of all the female divinities. Within the limits of a narrow jurisdiction, a narrow but wealthy island, the descendants of Teucer still displayed the magnificence of royalty; and the reigning prince, Nicocles, a hereditary name endeared by the virtues of those who had borne it[22], rivalled the glory of his ancestors in arts and letters, enjoyed the affections of his subjects, and flourished in the midst of a numerous, and happy family, conspicuous for domestic concord. The ambition of Alexander's successors, by degrading the dignity of Cyprus, arrested the long unaltered course of its peaceful prosperity. A prince who boasted his descent from the line of Ajax and Achilles, could not patiently brook vassalage under an upstart Macedonian: Nicocles longed to throw off the ignominious yoke; his defection was encouraged by Antigonus; but the measures concerted for his emancipation, escaped not the spies of Ptolemy; who, upon the first hint of the conspiracy, sent two of his own friends into Cyprus, to punish the rebel by death. These friends and assassins, furnished with troops by Menelaus, surrounded the Paphian palace, and eagerly demanded the king, to whom they announced the stern command of their employer. Resistance would have been

Tragical events that had been occasioned there by the cruel orders of Ptolemy. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

[21] Athenæus, l. xv. p. 676.

[22] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 28.

fruitless ; excuse was inadmissible ; and no delay was allowed. The miserable monarch perished by his own hand, in the midst of his family.[23] His queen Axiothea[24], whom Ptolemy had shewn a desire to save, disdained to survive her husband. Having previously consigned to death her virgin daughters, she prevailed with her numerous sisters-in-law, to share her untimely fate. The wretched brothers of Nicocles, carrying into real life the most frightful fictions of tragedy, then set fire to the palace, and expired amidst the ruins of their own and their country's grandeur[25] ; since, after this miserable catastrophe of the royal house, Cyprus never thenceforward aspired to the dignity of independent government. CHAP. VII.

To promote the political views of his father, and to avenge atrocious cruelties, Demetrius was ordered to Cyprus with the greater part of his fleet. He quitted Greece with reluctance, after a fruitless attempt to gain Corinth and Sicyon, by tempting with high bribes Cleonidas, who commanded for Ptolemy in these cities ; and after he had confirmed his unalterable friendship with the Athenians, by marrying Euridicé, lineal descendant from Miltiades, the renowned hero of Marathon. In his way to Cyprus, he landed and refreshed in the maritime province of Cilicia. When he quitted that coast his fleet consisted of an hundred and eighty

Demetrius's success in Cyprus. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

[23] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 48.
[24] The names are mangled in Athenæus, l. i. c. 3. & l. viii. c. 9.
[25] Diodor. l. xx. s. 21.

CHAP. VII.

ships of war, far exceeding the ordinary rate of ancient galleys, since they had most of them five, six, or seven banks of oars. His transports conveyed fifteen thousand foot, three hundred horse, together with the implements and engines most useful in encampments and sieges. On the northern coast of Cyprus, the feeble communities of Urania and Carpasia yielded to the mere terror of his arms. As he advanced southward to Salamis, he was opposed by Menelaus, with an army inferior to his own in foot, but far superior in cavalry. A battle ensued, in which the unequal brother of Ptolemy was defeated with the loss of a thousand slain, and three thousand made prisoners; and being thus driven from the open country, was obliged to seek protection within his walls.[26] Demetrius speedily formed the siege of Salamis; and first employed on this occasion the most famous of all those machines, that did honour to his invention, and which, till the discovery of gunpowder, continued the most formidable offensive weapon against well-fortified cities. From its use, it was called the Helepolis. According to the original structure of this engine, it consisted of nine stories, gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude. Each side of this moveable pyramid was ninety cubits high: its base measured an hundred and eighty cubits in circuit; its different compartments were filled with armed men, and provided with various

Siege of Salamis — the Helepolis.

[26] Diodor. l. xx. s. 47. and Plutarch in Demet.

contrivances for darting missiles, those of greatest weight from the stories near the base.[27] The base itself, a huge quadrangle supported on massy wheels, was composed of solid beams strongly compacted with iron, and sufficiently remote from each other to allow room for the strenuous labourers within, who propelled and directed this enormous colossus; whose form in process of time received many alterations and improvements. Combined with the battering-ram, it assailed fortresses[28] not merely by repeated missiles, but with its continuous and entire force. Demetrius indeed employed it chiefly in the former way; but with such extraordinary effect that while the darts and javelins, thrown from the upper embrasures, swept the defenders from their walls, its more ponderous artillery of metal, mixed with stones or rather rock, discharged from the lower compartments, is said to have been sufficient to shake the firmest bulwarks and bastions. The vastness and novelty of the Helepolis alarmed the Salaminians, but did not abash them. They exerted themselves vigorously in their own defence, opposing the contrivances of Demetrius with similar, and sometimes superior address; since by a dexterous application of ignited weapons, they almost destroyed, in a single night, the batteries that he had raised against them by the unremitting labour of many weeks.

[27] Diodor. l. xx. s. 48.

[28] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 9.

CHAP. VII.

Preparations for the sea-fight between Demetrius and Ptolemy.

Before he had an opportunity of trying a new experiment with his Helepolis, and displaying in its full extent that genius for sieges, which procured for him his title of Poliorcetes[29], he was summoned to a sea-fight against Ptolemy in person. The Egyptian satrap, having been duly apprised of the operations in Cyprus, sailed from Pelusium, landed first at Paphos, and afterwards at Citium, only twenty miles distant from Salamis. His fleet amounted to an hundred and fifty ships of war, most of them exceeding the rate of trireme galleys, though much inferior in size to the ships of the enemy. His transports conveyed above twelve thousand men, and were attended with innumerable small-craft furnished by the Cyprian cities, acknowledging his dominion. In the harbour of Salamis, his brother Menelaus commanded sixty galleys, which, according to the orders that Ptolemy had found means to convey to them, were to break forth and assail the enemy in time of action; a stratagem, that when the strength of the adverse parties was nearly balanced, had often proved decisive. With this advantage on his side, Ptolemy ventured to stake his well-established reputation against the yet dawning fame of Demetrius, and before making the dispositions for battle, sent a message to his rival, exhorting him by their past friendship to be gone in time, instead of remaining to be crushed in pieces by superior

[29] Urbium expugnator, as Pliny translates it.

force. Demetrius replied in the same boastful strain, that for the present he would allow Ptolemy to make his escape, provided he ceded to him Corinth and Sicyon. These vain bravadoes were preludes to an action that was to decide the fate of Cyprus, the command of the Mediterranean sea, and the pretensions of two illustrious commanders, who respectively founded the royal houses of Egypt and Macedon. CHAP. VII.

Great victory gained by Demetrius. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

In the night, Ptolemy endeavoured to open a communication with Menelaus, in the harbour of Salamis. Before this object was effected the day began to break, and the first rays of morning discovered to him Demetrius's fleet, carefully anchored at a due distance from the walls and engines of the place, and skilfully interposed between himself and the friendly shore; and as the harbour of Salamis was narrow, Demetrius, he found, had blocked it up with only ten vessels, which would intercept sixty of his own from bringing aid in the battle. These vexatious circumstances greatly mortified Ptolemy: but an action could not honourably be declined; and the experience of a long military life, had taught the brother and biographer of Alexander, that, in critical emergencies, courage is the greatest prudence. He advanced therefore boldly and ostentatiously to the attack, his armament being swelled in appearance by his transports and other vessels hastily collected from the Cyprian cities. But the alacrity of Demetrius dispelled all alarm on the score of apparent inequality. When the ad-

CHAP. VII.

verse squadrons were within half a mile of each other, he commanded to weigh anchor; raised a golden shield, the concerted signal; the trumpets summoned to combat; both parties invoked their common gods; and both resounding the same military Pæan, many hostile choirs mingled in one majestic stream of full Grecian harmony. Besides the superior size of their galleys, after the Greeks had armed themselves with the wealth and resources of Asia, great improvements had been made in the construction and application of what may be called their artillery. The missile weapons were more ingeniously formed; the engines which darted them were of greater efficacy; and the loftier platform from which they were discharged, gave to the instruments of mischief a surer aim, a wider range, and a more impetuous force. But the principal assault still depended on the nimble activity of the galleys themselves, and those decisive movements, by which, with their armed prows, they rased the adversary's sides, swept away his oars, and often by a stroke uniting good fortune with dexterity, buried his whole vessel in the deep. The utmost exertion of naval manœuvre, as practised by the ancients, was perseveringly displayed in this arduous conflict. Demetrius is celebrated for adorning the functions of a great admiral, with the hardy intrepidity of an experienced seaman; and according to the custom of Grecian commanders, with whom example was preferred to mere precept, for completing his glory, by

the destruction of many enemies with his own hand. Of his three life-guards two were grievously wounded; the third died by his side. His enterprise was rewarded with a great and decisive victory, ascribed partly to the superior size of his galleys, and partly to his seasonable obstruction of the Salaminian harbour, by which sixty of the enemy's ships were cut off from the scene of action. Ptolemy had been at first successful against the squadron which he opposed in person; but in the issue, forty of his ships were taken with their crews[30]; eighty were dashed in pieces or sunk; eight thousand men were captured aboard his transports. The harbour and city of Salamis accumulated new prizes on the victor; the former, a fleet of sixty sail; the latter, a garrison of twelve thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse: and the conquest of the Cyprian capital was followed by the speedy reduction, or voluntary surrender, of other walled cities in the island. CHAP. VII.

Amidst his arrangements for securing the valuable possession of Cyprus, Demetrius gained honour by his moderation in prosperity. The slain on both sides were lamented and interred with the accustomed ceremonies; Menelaus, his son Leontiscus, and other kinsmen or friends of Ptolemy, were restored unransomed to Egypt. The Athenians, whose fleet of thirty galleys had reinforced the conquerors, were presented

[30] There are differences in the numbers as given by Diodorus, l. xx. s. 52. Plutarch in Demet. and Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

CHAP. VII.

with twelve hundred suits of armour. In all particulars, but the choice of a messenger to announce his victory to Antigonus, Demetrius approved himself, on this occasion, worthy of the signal success with which his arms had been attended. The honour of communicating such happy tidings to his father, might with propriety have been committed to his kinsman Marsyas[31], a brave commander, and a respectable historian; but it was entrusted to the fawning buffoon Aristodemus of Miletus, who conveyed the news in a manner suitable to the vile servility of his character.[32]

The victory announced to Antigonus by the buffoon Aristodemus.

Antigonus was then in his favourite province, where he had just built a palace in the recently-founded and short-lived capital Antigonia; judiciously situate about twenty miles from the sea, near the deepest bend of the Orontes, which flows in a winding course for ten days' journey, through the finest valley of Syria. Aristodemus landed on the neighbouring coast, with orders that none of his attendants should leave the vessel. In a small boat, he proceeded to Antigonia, and thence walked slowly towards the royal palace, with a solemn countenance, and without answering a word to the crowd which began to surround him: Antigonus, apprised of his landing, had anxiously descended to the gate of the palace. Without quickening his pace, the flatterer at length approached, stretched forth his hand, and exclaimed with a

[31] Suidas in Voc. [32] Plutarch in Demet.

loud voice, "Hail, king Antigonus." He then announced the completeness and extensive consequences of Demetrius's victory.

The title of king assumed by Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307

Opinion governs the world, and is itself governed by names. The flattery of Aristodemus was not rejected by Antigonus; and the royal appellation, so soothing to the ear of an ambitious usurper, was officiously repeated by the guards and attendants; the palace and capital resounded with joyous acclamations; and "Long live king Antigonus" re-echoed through the cities of Syria and of other countries subject to his power. In the sense of antiquity, the title of king was sometimes extended beyond the actual possession, to the expectancy of sovereign power, and the worthiness to hold it. In this manner, the honour might be communicated without losing in value. Antigonus was eager to impart it to his beloved Demetrius. After the example of these generals, Ptolemy, defeated but not dejected, assumed the ensigns and show of royalty, of which he had long enjoyed the substance. Seleucus and Lysimachus disdained to remain inferior in name, to those whom they equalled in renown. Cassander alone, respecting the ashes of the Macedonian monarchs entombed in his province, neither called himself king, nor employed the royal signet.[33] Could we believe an historian fond of popular remarks, and extremely partial to republicanism; the successors of Alexander, toge-

Effects of that title.

[33] Conf. Plut. in Demet. & Diodorus, l. xx. s. 53.

CHAP. VII.

ther with their new titles, assumed new maxims, and even new sentiments. Their personal pretensions encreased with their external pomp; the respect formerly received as an offering to merit, was now exacted as a tribute to rank; there was an end of the ancient familiarity of manners, once so interesting and so amiable; and though rewards grew less liberal, punishments became greatly more severe.[34] These evils extended with the lengthening line of their descendants. With the pride of hereditary royalty, sloth and luxury kept pace: and the followers of the most enlightened and generous prince, that adorns history, degenerated into selfish and sottish voluptuaries, adorned by eastern servility, and execrated by the liberal portion of mankind in their own and all succeeding times.

Antigonus's expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxviii. 3. B. C. 306.

The assumption of the diadem by Alexander's immediate successors created four new kingdoms[35], all of which Antigonus who treated his equals as usurpers, hoped speedily to reunite in his own person and that of his beloved Demetrius. His recent victory over Ptolemy determined him to begin with the dominions of that prince. The naval engagement off Salamis had given him the command of the sea; his land-forces fell little short of the army of Alex-

[34] Plut. in Demet.

[35] Five kingdoms in effect, though Cassander, as we have seen, did not assume the royal title. Independently of him there were five kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Demetrius: but the two last-mentioned held an united sovereignty.

ander when in its greatest force; his rival, he doubted not, must be stunned with his late dreadful defeat; he was, therefore, eager to lead an expedition against Egypt, which promised the more glorious success, the sooner it was carried into execution. Yet his arrangements on this occasion indicated a full sense of the obstacles to his undertaking; the natural strength of the country, the abilities and resources of its satrap. Egypt was to be attacked at once by sea and land. For this purpose, Demetrius sailed from Cyprus with an hundred and fifty galleys, besides a hundred vessels of burden, conveying his engines of battery and exhaustless stores of missile weapons. The land army assembled in the neighbourhood of Gaza; consisting of eighty thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse. A crowd of victuallers was destined to attend the fleet; and the camels collected from Arabia for accompanying the army, must have been numerous indeed, since, among other necessaries, they carried about an hundred thousand quarters of grain [35], or rather flour. Eighty-three elephants added terror, at least pomp, to the warfare. The whole empire was held in suspense and anxiety by this complicated armament, which, should it conquer Egypt, promised to raise its commander to universal monarchy.

CHAP. VII.

His vast preparations.

Twenty-seven years before the present expe- Improved state of

[35] Diodor. l. xx. s. 73. It is allowable to suspect both the accuracy of the numbers and the certainty of the measures.

CHAP. VII.

dition, that ancient and populous kingdom, which long boasted its three thousand cities, had submitted without resistance to the invasion of Alexander. Its natural defences have been at all times the same; on the Asiatic frontier, from which only it is assailable by land, a desert, a marsh, and a great river; and along its low and inhospitable coast, either dangerous banks of concealed sand, or perpetual ledges of blind rocks. But its artificial bulwarks had undergone an important change. The loss of two hundred galleys had not ruined Ptolemy's defensive navy. The military resources of the country had wonderfully increased. Even the melancholy character of the natives had been raised and ennobled by the indulgent policy and liberal encouragement of their sovereign. While other countries oppressed in peace, after being desolated in war, had declined from the splendour of sovereign states into the obscurity of wretched provinces, Egypt alone, in the space of eighteen years under Ptolemy, had risen from the dejection of a plundered satrapy into the dignity of an independent and flourishing kingdom; enriched by commerce, enlarged by conquest, and strongly defended by numerous and well-provided garrisons.

Egypt at that time.

Antigonus fatally experienced the importance of this alteration. The obstinacy of old age, for he was now in his eightieth year, heightened the calamities that awaited him. His preparations were not completed till October, about the setting of the Pleiades, when the weather is

Disasters which compelled Antigonus to retreat.

stormy, and when the Nile has not yet wholly retired within its oozy bed. At this unfavourable season, his fleet under Demetrius was ordered to sail, in opposition to the advice of experienced seamen; and about the same time he marched in person from Gaza at the head of his army. Demetrius had not been long at sea when he was assailed by a tempest from the north, which the victuallers and vessels carrying missile weapons were not able to resist. Many were dashed in pieces and sunk; others returned with much difficulty to the friendly shore of Gaza. Demetrius anchored five furlongs from the coast, and had the mortification to see his vessels foundering amidst sands or beating against rocks, without the possibility of affording to them any assistance, or of saving any part of their crews, since those who escaped from shipwreck fell into the hands of the Egyptians, pleased spectators, at land, of their enemy's disasters. Had the storm lasted a day longer, the whole fleet must have perished; and this danger still threatened, when the army of Antigonus emerged from its toilsome march through the desert. By his arrival, some weather-beaten vessels might obtain a safe landing-place; but he found it impossible to bring about any useful co-operation between his fleet and army. He stood on the eastern margin of the Delta with a resistless force, could he have transported his men across the swollen Nile. All the mouths of that river were defended by Ptolemy's garrisons and innumerable armed vessels. At Pseudas-

CHAP. VII.

tomus, Phatnicus[37], and every other inlet by which Demetrius attempted to penetrate, the resistance was ready and unsurmountable. The Pelusiac, or great eastern branch, was guarded with equal vigilance against Antigonus. In addition to these difficulties, provisions and water grew scarce; while Ptolemy's emissaries sowed sedition in the hostile camp, and, by vast promises and bribes, tempted many to desertion. The difficulties of the invaders must have been extreme, before the loftiness of the new kings, the obstinate pride of the father, and the confident ardour of the son, could condescend to the mortifying arrangements for securing their retreat. Antigonus varnished that disgraceful measure by summoning a council of his principal officers, who unanimously advised him to defer the conquest of Egypt to a more favourable season of the year. Ptolemy, with his usual prudence, would have been glad to make a bridge of gold for a retiring foe. He thanked the propitious gods with solemn games and costly sacrifices; and, in a pompous embassy, communicated the good tidings to Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, who, he hoped, would rejoice at his thus happily baffling their common enemy.[38]

Why Antigonus determines to make war on

Antigonus had failed in his undertaking against the great body of the Egyptian monarchy; but his vast preparations, he thought, might still

[37] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1153. & Ptolemy, l. iv. p. 116.

[38] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74, 75, & 76. Plut. in Demet. and Pausanias, Attic. c. 6.

CHAP. VII.

be employed with success in reducing its most valuable appendages. One arm had been lopped off by the conquest of Cyprus; another remained, the flourishing island of Rhodes, which for seven years past had been intimately united with Egypt both by interest and affection. After the death of Alexander, the Rhodians, who had been honoured with distinguished marks of his regard, erected themselves into an independent commonwealth, in apparent friendship with all his successors, by whom, though its riches might be envied, the strength of its battlements was respected. The capital of the island, bearing the same name, had been founded only four[39] years before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and the comparative novelty of this city, as well as of Byzantium, which two alone preserved the genuine fire of liberty, extinguished on all sides around them, might seem to countenance the opinion that commonwealths like individuals have their youth, maturity, old age, and decrepitude. When Athens, Sparta, and the other illustrious republics of ancient Greece, had sunk into the last stages of decay, the youthful communities of Rhodes and Byzantium were animated with the generous spirit of freedom, and ennobled by those virtues of policy and prowess by which only it can be maintained.

Rhodes. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

Novelty of the city Rhodes.

Yet this plausible observation is applicable only to the *city*, not to the *island* of Rhodes,

History of the island.

[39] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 967.

CHAP. VII.

which latter vied in the antiquity of its renown with the most venerable royalties, or commonwealths, of the heroic ages. Before the dawn of recorded history, Rhodes had contended with Athens herself for the partial affection of Minerva.[40] Apollo chose the bright island, yet latent in the watery deep, for the scene of his peculiar reign[41]; and in the figurative language of Homer and Pindar, Jupiter poured down a golden shower on the industrious and skilful Rhodians. Their cities, Lindus, Ialyssus, and the shining Cameirus[42], are celebrated by Homer and Pindar; and we learn that nearly five centuries before the Christian æra, the crowded seaports of the Rhodians were decorated with magnificent edifices, and their streets adorned with breathing marbles.[43] The towering ridges of Atabyrius, which overlooked their island, were crowded with splendid monuments, particularly the temple of Jupiter, from which the father of the gods was believed to survey with complacence the unwearied labours of his peaceful and ingenious votaries.[44] In these poetical eulogies we may discern that intimate connec-

[40] Pindar, Olymp. Ode vii.

[41] Pindar also celebrates "Rhodes the daughter of Venus and bride of the sun," ὑμνων παιδ' αφροδιτης ηελιοιο τε νυμφαν Ροδον. The Scholiast says, that the island derived the former title from its flowers and beauty; and Solinus, c. 17., believes the latter bestowed on it, because a day never passes at Rhodes in which the sun is not at some time visible.

[42] Homer, Il. l. ii. v. 670.

[43] Εργα δε ζωοισι ερποντεσσι. θ' ομοια κελευθοι φερον. Pindar, ibid. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. c. 46.

[44] Pindar, ibid.

tion between commerce and superstition, which has been pointed out and illustrated in other parts of this history; and the account formerly given of the flourishing traffic of the Asiatic peninsula, receives confirmation from the industry and opulence of Rhodes, separated from it by a narrow frith of only five miles, and displaying wonderful resources within its diminutive territory of only thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth.

Its productive and commercial industry.

Its productive and commercial industry, the genuine source of public happiness, continued through the dark ages of traditionary fame down to that celebrated war of twenty-seven years, by which Greece and most of her islands were afflicted, through the combined evils of foreign invasion and domestic sedition. During the agitations of that furious conflict, Rhodes preserved her peaceful prosperity; and towards its conclusion, beheld the foundation and completion of her splendid and permanent capital.

This capital, situate at the eastern extremity of the island, rose in the form of a theatre[45], looking directly towards the Embolus or beak[46], a name bestowed on the southern promontory of Caria. The Rhodians traded with all the countries around them; and their two harbours, nearly contiguous to each other, formed the hope of industrious merchants, and terror of pirates. They had hitherto lived on good terms with all the Macedonian generals, who com-

[45] Θεατροειδυς υσης της Ροδυ. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45.
[46] Schol. in Pind. Olymp. Ode vii.

CHAP. VII.

manded the adjacent coasts; and had allowed Antigonus, as we have before seen, to avail himself of their skilful artisans, and to equip fleets in their harbours. But for several years past, as the war between Antigonus and Seleucus had interrupted the traffic through Upper Asia that used to centre in the cities of Phœnicia, the Rhodians had peculiarly connected themselves with Egypt, which then wholly engrossed the highly-prized commodities of the East, whether conveyed to it by Arabs, Indians, or its own merchantmen. From Alexandria in Egypt, the Rhodians diffused the spices, perfumes, gems, and other articles indispensable in the luxury and superstition of antiquity over all the coasts of the West. This commercial intercourse, which had been warmly encouraged by the Egyptian satrap, now king Ptolemy, had produced the grateful attachment of the Rhodians to that prince; from whose dominions they derived continual supplies of grain, essential to a country, teeming with population, yet destitute of tillage: for the territory of Rhodes was entirely dedicated to gardens and vineyards. The excellence of its wines recommended them to the peculiar purpose of religious libations and festivals.[47] Its flowers and fruits enjoyed an equal pre-eminence; and those gifts of nature instead of superseding, as usually happens, had stimulated the stubborn exertions of laborious in-

Close connection with Egypt.

Flourishing state of the city and territory.

[47] Non ego te, mensis et Diis accepta secundis,
Transierim, Rhodia. — Virgil, Geor. ii. 101.

dustry. In opposition to the general custom of antiquity[48], the houses of the Rhodians, both in town and country, were solidly built of stone. Their capital was strongly fortified by sea and land[49], watered by innumerable conduits[50] from the neighbouring mountains, and provided with all conveniences and ornaments, that wealth can purchase, or ingenuity invent. CHAP. VII.

But the greatest ornament of Rhodes was the wisdom of its magistrates. At the same time that they bridled the multitude by every salutary restraint, they had contrived to gain its affection by humanity and bounty. Whatever regarded the marine, the sinews of their power, was a mystery to all but the magistrates. To enter the docks without permission, was a capital offence; and to pry into any secrets respecting the naval department, was prohibited under the penalties of banishment or death. To work, not to speak, to exercise their strength, not their judgment, were the duties required from the Rhodian artisans, whose labour was richly rewarded, and whose habitual diligence ensured a kindly support during sickness or old age.[51] Good policy enforced this dictate of compassion, or rather justice; and so natural is the connection between liberality and traffic, that by an immemorial law, the Rhodian people were either to be provided with employment by their supe- Singular wisdom of its institutions.

[48] Diodorus intimates this by saying, εκ πλινθινες αλλα λιθινες. Diod. l. xix. s. 45.

[49] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 652.

[50] Ὀχετοι. Diodor. ibid.

[51] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

CHAP. VII.

riors, or comfortably subsisted at the public expense. The burden of too numerous a progeny was alleviated at the charge of the state; and a superabundant family, which is the terror of beggarly peasants, formed the object of hope or of joy in this commercial commonwealth.

Maritime laws.

According to the experience of antiquity, the best of all governments was held to be a moderate aristocracy, in which the two great divisions of "men employed in the exercise of the head and of the hand," were connected by the reciprocal ties of respectful obedience and indulgent protection. Under such a political arrangement, the naval cities of Athens, Carthage, and Marseilles[52], as well as the military republics of Sparta and Rome, earned their fairest fame, and attained their meridian prosperity. Rhodes acquired equal and less invidious distinction, and increased it by means equally honourable to herself and useful to her neighbours. Instead of applying their marine to the purposes of depredation or ambition, the Rhodian senators directed it to the extirpation of pirates, who, issuing from the winding coasts of Asia Minor, and especially from the creeks of Cilicia, had long infested the Mediterranean.[53] In thus protecting general traffic, they merited the good-will of all civilized nations. They deserved it still farther by the wisdom and equity of their laws, which first introduced principles

[52] Cicero, Orat. pro Valer. Flac.

[53] There is not now even a fishing-boat on the whole southern coast.

of reason and utility in matters respecting the sea; an element which, except by themselves, the Lycians, and a few cities of Greece and Phœnicia, had hitherto been universally abandoned to disorder and anarchy.[54] The maritime laws of the Rhodians were adopted into the jurisprudence of Rome[55], and thence diffused through the world. If their scattered fragments still excite admiration, to what high praise must the whole have been entitled in the comparatively unenlightened age in which they were enacted!

The Rhodians chace Antigonus's squadron from their coast.

Such was the enviable condition of the Rhodians, when, eighteen years after the death of Alexander, Demetrius, by order of his father, required their assistance in his Cyprian expedition. Their connection with Ptolemy could not fail to produce a refusal; they conveyed it, however, in the least offensive terms; for their policy had hitherto engaged them to conciliate every one of Alexander's fortunate generals; to court them by embassies, to honour them with statues, to relieve occasionally the wants of all, while they carefully avoided to adopt the resentments of any, or to involve themselves in their quarrels. Intoxicated with his conquest of Cyprus, and the affected sovereignty of the seas, Antigonus determined to punish the disobedience of the Rhodians to his most unjustifiable demand. At first he sent a squadron of stout galleys to distress their trade, and particularly to

[54] Isocrat. Orat. de Pace.

[55] Pandect. l. xiv. Tit. 2. de lege Rhodea, de jactu.

CHAP. VII.

interrupt the perpetual navigation between their island and Egypt. The injured Rhodians, anxious as they were to preserve amity with so great a king, could not tamely brook the violation of their property. They armed vigorously for defence, and chased the fleet of Antigonus from their coasts.[56]

Demetrius sails to Rhodes with a great armament. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

This becoming boldness was construed into an insult, deserving the severest vengeance. The cautious Rhodians, still willing to temporise, decreed new honours to Antigonus and his son, and endeavoured to soothe them by a submissive embassy. Their embassy was answered by the approach of two hundred ships of war; which, under the command of Demetrius, anchored at Lorima on the Carian coast, directly opposite to their harbours. His transports conveyed forty thousand men, with a due proportion of cavalry: engines, weapons, and military stores had been provided in the utmost profusion; and the royal fleet was accompanied by more than a thousand vessels belonging to merchants or pirates, who hoped to ravish the spoils of a wealthy and yet virgin island.[57]

Demetrius encamps on the island, which is ravaged by his partisans and the accompanying pirates.

The report of such powerful preparations might have filled the Rhodians with alarm. But the theatrical form of their city enabled them distinctly to behold the gleams of armour flashing from an armament, whose magnitude crowded their narrow seas. In approaching Rhodes, the ships of war formed a line in front. they were

[56] Diodor. l. xx. s. 82. [57] Diodor. ibid.

followed by vessels heavily laden with darts and engines, and slowly towed along by lighter galleys; the pirates came last, though their cruel service was to be first employed against a people, whose honourable opulence stimulated their own envious avidity. In modern war, much time and many precautions would be required for the safe landing of so stupendous a host: but the form of ancient vessels, which rendered them less safe on deep and open seas, exempted them however from many dangers on shoaly coasts.[58] The first care of Demetrius was to moor his ships at a due distance from the numerous engines, mounting the walls of Rhodes. Having effected this purpose, he sent forth his pirates and partisans to ravage the adjacent shores, and collect materials for inclosing a camp. In the course of this service, a hasty desolation overspread the gardens and beautiful villas, which formed the delight and the pride of those long fortunate islanders. An encampment, however, was marked out, and fortified: a new and capacious harbour was built for the invading armament; and the approaches to the capital of Rhodes were carefully smoothed, and secured on either side by entrenchments. CHAP. VII.

During these operations, repeated embassies were sent to Demetrius, by which the Rhodians offered even to relinquish their alliance with Ptolemy. But the invader, deeming this pro- Measures pursued by the Rhodians in this extremity.

[58] The water is deep at a little distance from the coast, but grows suddenly shallow near the ancient harbours and other parts of the shore.

CHAP. VII.

posal merely the effect of present terror, demanded an hundred hostages from their noblest families, and the immediate reception of his fleet into their harbours. In this extremity, the Rhodians manned their fleet, distributed their troops along the walls, repaired and multiplied their engines, and as their superiority in seamanship enabled them to command the outlets of their ports and break through the enemy's line, sent news of their situation to Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander, above all to Ptolemy, requiring immediate aid in a warfare in which they had involved themselves rather than depart from their friendly engagements with those princes. At the same time an unserviceable crowd of slaves and strangers was dismissed from the besieged city, and the useful portion of both was encouraged heartily to co-operate in the public defence; the former by the reward of personal freedom, the latter by a participation in future of all municipal rights. Yet in this moment of alarm, private property met with its due respect. The slaves to be enrolled as soldiers were first regularly purchased from their respective masters. Of such labouring citizens as should fall in battle, the families were to be maintained at the public expense; their daughters were to be dowered by the treasury; and their sons, on attaining the age of manhood, to be presented with a complete suit of armour in the theatre of Bacchus during the solemnity of his crowded festival.[59]

[59] Diodor. l. xx. s. 85.

CHAP. VII.

Rhodes besieged.—Extraordinary efforts on the side of both assailants and defenders.

Demetrius directed his arms against the harbours, because, after *their* surrender, the city itself would be soon driven by famine to submission. For the assault of the harbours, he provided two lofty towers, overtopping their highest defences, and floated each tower on firm and well-poised hulks. The higher compartments of these floating batteries were adapted to various forms of catapults, throwing weapons of different shapes and magnitudes; and the lower stories were provided with ballistas that discharged stones of an hundred pounds weight. The towers and hulks were encompassed on either side with huge pent-houses, and defended in front by a floating rampart: the whole accompanied with innumerable armed vessels, manned chiefly with Cretans as mariners. His first attack was rendered ineffectual through a sudden storm. He renewed it next morning with music of trumpets and shouts of acclamation, but was so warmly received by the besieged that, after suffering more evil than he inflicted, he thought proper towards evening to sound a retreat. The Rhodians pursued him with fire-ships, and but for his moveable rampart, might have succeeded in burning his machines. But this ingenious edifice, while it defended his towers, enabled him to retort the ignited weapons of the enemy with such effect, that most of their vessels were consumed, and their crews were sometimes arrested by his javelins while they swam to the friendly shore. During eight successive days, the same mode of warfare was renewed, until Demetrius's

CHAP. VII.

machines were so much shattered that he was obliged to repair them in the harbour which he had fortified upon first landing in the island. When his preparations were completed, he returned to the charge, and was on the point of making a successful assault, when his operations were baffled through the singular enterprise of three Rhodian vessels, filled with chosen men, prepared to encounter certain death in the service of their country. Their impetuosity penetrated through a cloud of darts, broke asunder the floating rampart though strongly compacted and plated with iron, assaulted with their prows the hulks bearing Demetrius's machines, and filled two of them with water. Having performed this signal service, two Rhodian commanders escaped unhurt to their own shore; but Exacestus, commanding the admiral galley, ventured to assail a third hulk, which had been taken in tow by the enemy. His noble ardour cost him his ship and his life[60]; but the immortal exploit was not lost to his country, since it taught the invaders against what consummate skill and valour they would yet be obliged to contend.

Rhodes succoured by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

The attention of every part of the empire was fixed on this memorable siege; and almost every city or province, beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Antigonus, testified anxious solicitude for the safety of the Rhodians. Upon the first intelligence of their danger, Cassander

[60] Diodor. l. xx. s. 85, 86, 87, & 88.

and Lysimachus had sent to them supplies of corn: Ptolemy succoured them more powerfully with men as well as with various kinds of provisions. Demetrius saw the necessity of using the utmost expedition in an undertaking universally unpopular; which at once enraged his enemies, and disgusted his allies. Hitherto the attacks on the land side had been only feints to aid the great operations at sea. But he now determined to try whether the city itself was equally capable of resistance with its unconquerable harbours. The Helepolis, employed on this occasion, resembled in form, but far exceeded in dimensions, that used in the siege of Salamis.[61] Its towers were an hundred and fifty feet high; it was supported on eight enormous wheels, and propelled by the labour of three thousand four hundred men. Its sides were plated with iron; the port-holes were defended by valves of raw hide, thickly covered with wool; and it was prepared to resist fire by the skilful distribution of water through every part of its immense bulk. Demetrius constructed also ten pent-houses, eight of which accompanied and guarded the Helepolis; and the two others carried battering rams, shaped like the beak of a galley, but each of them an hundred and eighty feet long. While these machines were preparing by the unremitted exertions of thirty thousand workmen, Deme-

Demetrius's engines.

[61] Epimachus the Athenian had a principal share in the contrivances of this Helepolis used against Rhodes. Athenaei Liber. de Machin. Bellic. p. 7.

A P. VII. trius made trial of the less operose expedients of mining and treachery. His mines, however, were successfully countermined by the enemy; and Athenagoras, the Milesian, commanding Ptolemy's reinforcement, pretended to listen to the proposal of defection, only that he might gain an opportunity of ensnaring the seducer. [62]

And operations.—Three bold attacks more boldly resisted.

Demetrius finally had recourse to his engines. With these he made three strenuous attacks, since he thrice effected a breach in the walls, but of which the bad consequences had been anticipated by a second and third line of bulwarks behind those which had fallen. After thus resisting the first assault, the Rhodians endeavoured to destroy the enemy's machines in the night; and, to the astonishment of Demetrius himself, directed against his Helepolis fifteen hundred darts and eight hundred fireballs. [63] The second attack, assisted by a feint at sea, proved fatal to many of the besiegers as well as of the besieged: among the latter, historians regret Ameinias, a noble Rhodian, illustriously distinguished in former scenes of the war, who fell after a heroic defence in the arms of victory. The third assault was of all the most complicated and the most desperate. Having effected a breach in the wall, but which was not found practicable, Demetrius selected fifteen hundred men of tried valour, and totally devoted to his service. They were ordered in the dead of night to attack the Rhodians who

[62] Diodor. l. xx. s. 93. [63] Diodor. l. xx. s. 97.

guarded the ditches and defences behind this narrow and difficult inlet; and having thus entered the city, to take post in the market-place. It was expected that the confusion and terror occasioned by the appearance of armed men within the walls, would withdraw the Rhodians from their fortifications, and leave many parts of them unguarded in the morning, at the first dawn of which the city, on a given signal, was to be assailed on all sides by sea and land. Demetrius's *forlorn hope* succeeded in their arduous enterprise, and gained possession of the great theatre in the market-place: the lamentable wailings of women and children filled the streets of Rhodes as if the place had been already taken by storm: but when the concerted operations began at day-break, it was found that not a Rhodian soldier had quitted his post. This unaltered firmness, in despising the vain terrors of war, was inspired by the admirable presence of mind of the Rhodian senators, who gave strict orders to resist with unabating vigilance and energy the assailants from without, while a party of themselves, heading the auxiliaries recently sent by Ptolemy, undertook to deal with the enemies that had stolen within their city. Their measures concerted with wisdom, were executed with corresponding bravery. The hostile troops in the theatre and market-place were put to the sword, after a desperate resistance, in which they slew Damoteles, the president of the Rhodian senate, who disdained not, in this moment of emergency,

CHAP. VII.

the manual duties of a soldier, and thus sealed by his blood the glory which he had justly earned both as a statesman and general.[63]

Ambassadors from fifty states at once intercede for the Rhodians.

Demetrius had scarcely made his last unsuccessful attempt against Rhodes, when various causes combined to bring to a conclusion a siege, which, during a complete year, had now fruitlessly exercised the ingenuity of Greece, and exhausted the wealth of Asia. The impatient old age of Antigonus had exhorted his son, on any honourable terms, to relinquish his undertaking. Ambassadors from every Grecian community, that either in Asia or Europe affected the honour of independence, plied him with perpetual intercessions in favour of an admired commonwealth, the favourite and benefactress of the whole commercial world. On one occasion, not less than fifty ambassadors from different states crowded his camp at the same time, all heartily joining in the same earnest petition. But the circumstance which chiefly engaged him to raise the siege, was a concurrent deputation from the Athenians and Etolians[62], not only joining in the great general request, but urging Demetrius to sail to their immediate assistance, against the machinations of Cassander, who, during the occupation of their protector in a distant quarter, had encreased his partisans, and greatly enlarged his usurped possessions in both divisions of ancient

The siege raised and principal reason why. Olymp. cxix. 1. B.C. 304.

[64] Diodor. l. xx. s. 98.

[65] Conf. Diodor. l. xx. s. 99. Plutarch in Demet. p. 307. and Pausan. l. i. c. 26.

Greece. To be the deliverer of this illustrious country, was the favourite passion of Demetrius. With this glorious object, even the conquest of Rhodes could not bear any comparison; and the expected attainment of it furnished him with the honourable pretence, of which Antigonus desired him to lay hold, for terminating an unpropitious and unpopular warfare. CHAP. VII.

During the siege itself, incidents also had occurred tending to revive the spirit of conciliation and amity. Amidst the fury of attack, and the obstinacy of resistance, a few individuals, exasperated at their private losses, had proposed to destroy the statues formerly erected by the Rhodians, in honour of Demetrius and his father. But the manly sense of the community rejected this contemptible revenge. Demetrius naturally respected a people, who opposed him with superior address and prowess; and whose pre-eminence was equally conspicuous in arts and arms. His susceptible and generous mind warmly embraced men cultivating pursuits congenial to his own. He admired, and probably could recite, the highly poetical strains of the Rhodian Simmias[66]; he contemplated and studied the far-famed sculpture of Chares: he affectionately embraced the contemporary merit of Protogenes, who, amidst the din of arms, remained tranquil in his suburban villa, patiently finishing those celebrated works which placed him in the

Incidents favourable to conciliation conspiring with this main reason.

Protogenes the painter.

[66] This poet must not be confounded with the younger Simmias, (of whom hereafter,) who wrote poems in the form of eggs and hatchets.

CHAP. VII.

first rank of Grecian painters. In a visit made to him, Demetrius expressed admiration at his unaltered serenity amidst the tumult of war, Protogenes replied, "that Demetrius," he well knew, "did not wage war with the arts:" an ingenious and pleasing answer, which was rewarded by the young prince with the immediate appointment of a trusty guard to protect the house of Protogenes.[67]

Conditions of peace granted to the Rhodians. Olymp. cxix. 1. B. C. 304.

These reciprocal civilities conspired with the weightier reasons above mentioned, in disposing both parties to an accommodation. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Rhodians should enjoy their well-defended liberties, but become allies to Antigonus, without, however, being bound to take part with him in the war against Ptolemy. As the pledge of their sincerity, they granted a hundred hostages, to be chosen from the whole body of the citizens, except only the members of the government. Upon these terms Demetrius withdrew his armament, leaving the island unransomed, ungarrisoned, and independent.[68]

Honours decreed by the Rhodians to the kings, their allies.

For this unexpected deliverance, the Rhodians thanked their gods by a solemn festival, combining elegant pleasures with many gross superstitions. They, whose cautious policy had rejected the proposal of demolishing the statues of their enemies Antigonus and Demetrius, were forward in honouring with new statues their benefactors, Cassander and Lysimachus.

[67] Plutarch in Demet.

[68] Diodor. l. xx. s. 99.

CHAP VII.

On Ptolemy, their great ally, they conferred the title of Soter, the saviour, which thenceforward distinguished that prince; and sent a deputation to Hammon in Libya, in order to obtain the Oracle's consent for worshipping him as a god. The holy shrine approved the deification of a prince whose caravans supplied numerous retainers to the grove and temple of Hammon. Furnished with this authority, the Rhodians consecrated a quadrangular space, extending six hundred and twenty-five feet in front. It was called the Ptolemeion, adorned with a grove and altar, and distinguished by the regular return of games and sacrifices. At the same time that they performed this signal act of gratitude, the Rhodians were diligent in repairing their city, and in rebuilding those temples and theatres which had been reluctantly demolished, to supply materials for walls and battlements.[69]

Hopes and projects of Antigonus.

Demetrius, meanwhile, proceeded to Greece with his whole armament, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail. In his way thither, he deposited the Rhodian hostages in the strong castle of Ephesus. Antigonus, who was at this time preparing to amuse his old age, by celebrating pompous solemnities in his capital of Antigonia, expected that his son, after again rescuing Greece from the hands of Cassander, would, by means of reinforcements from that country, extend his arms over Macedon and

[69] Diodor. l. xx. s. 100.

CHAP. VII.

Thrace. He would then join forces with his father, who being thus master of the valour and discipline of Europe, might easily overwhelm his rivals in Egypt and the East.

Demetrius's successful expedition into Greece. Olymp. cxix. 2. B. C. 303.

In conformity with these lofty projects, Demetrius sailed through the Ægæan isles, landed successively at Chalcis in Eubæa, and Aulis in Bœotia, entered Attica, and compelled the Macedonians who had taken possession of all these countries, and were preparing to besiege Athens, to retreat with precipitation and much loss towards the straits of Thermopylæ, not less than six thousand of them, in their flight, deserting to the pursuer. In the space of a few months he thus recovered his ascendency over all the nine states, save Thessaly, beyond the Corinthian Isthmus.[70] He then visited Athens as a deliverer, and celebrated a long triumph during winter, in that beloved city, amidst the sweet soothings of flattery, and the unbridled licence of pleasure. The new Bacchus, who knew both to conquer and how to enjoy victory, was, by a decree of the republic which he had saved, lodged in the temple of his elder sister; in plainer language, Demetrius was honoured with a palace, or rather haram, in the edifice containing the Athenian treasury, immediately adjoining the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva. Thither he was accompanied by Lamia, a Cyprian courtezan, who compensated for the want of youth, by the witcheries of her profession. Chrysis, Demo,

Extraordinary proceedings in Athens.

[70] Diodor. l. xx. s. 100—102.

Anticyra, and many other blooming beauties, were the handmaids and substitutes of this aged sorceress, whom none of them ever rivalled in the affection of Demetrius: and the purlieus of the chaste Minerva, were besides polluted by such unnatural abominations, that, in the language of Plutarch, they seemed to regain purity and holiness by comparatively innocent revels, with the frail votaries of the Paphian divinity. Yet all was lawful to him, whom the servility of the Athenians set above all law, declaring by a second decree, that every one of his words and actions was essentially adorned with justice and piety.[71]

His success in Peloponnesus.

Early in the spring, Demetrius invaded the Peloponnesus, of which, two principal strong holds, Corinth and Sicyon, were respectively garrisoned by the troops of Cassander and Ptolemy. Ægium, the best fortified among the twelve cities of Achaia, was still held by Stronbichus, who is called the lieutenant of Polysperchon, although that general, worn down by old age, and the weight of his crimes, should seem to have remained careless of the affairs of Greece in the sullen gloom of his Etolian fortress. Corinth and Sicyon surrendered at the first summons; but Stronbichus defended Ægium to the last extremity, and repeatedly defied Demetrius from its walls with just, and therefore the more painful insults. The strong-hold of Achaia being at length taken by assault, the

[71] Plut. in Demet.

CHAP. VII.

audacious governor with eighty of his friends were tried, condemned, and crucified[72]; a tremendous spectacle in a country, where, notwithstanding perpetual and bloody enormities, public executions were rare, and crucifixion abominated. Bura, Patra, and the inferior cities of Achaia, opened their gates to Demetrius. In the capital of Argolis, he presided at the festival of Argive Juno; and enlivened that solemnity by celebrating his nuptials with Deidamia, the sister of a prince destined to great renown, then tutoring in early youth in the school of adversity, the illustrious Pyrrhus of Epirus, who was successively to become Demetrius's partner in arms, his hostage with king Ptolemy, and lastly his rival for the vacant throne of Macedon.[73]

Declared general of the Greeks. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

After terminating the war as successfully in Peloponnesus, as he had formerly done in the country beyond the Isthmus, Demetrius summoned the states of both divisions of Greece to Corinth, that they might still exercise the forms of that liberty, of which they had long lost the substance. The complaisant deputies from sixteen once independent republics, appointed him their general, with the same authority and honours formerly conferred by them on Philip and his immortal son. The contingents of troops by which they respectively increased his army, made his land-forces amount to sixty-five thousand men. At the head of such a mighty host, he made no secret of his design of conquering

[72] Diodor. l. xx. s. 105.

[73] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

Macedon and Thrace, in his way to join his father; and, after reinforcing Antigonus with the strength of Europe, of raising that prince and himself to universal empire. His lofty purposes, which good policy would have taught him to conceal, were betrayed even on the most trivial occasions. While he assumed the appellation of king, he proudly refused that title to any of his rivals; and in the hours of convivial merriment was flattered on this score by his low parasites, who would frequently drink a health to "admiral Ptolemy," "to treasurer Lysimachus[74]", "to Seleucus master of the elephants." The wildest extravagancies of Demetrius were approved, cherished, and fomented by the degenerate Greeks; above all the Athenians, destined in their varying character to exhibit the utmost extremes of manhood and of meanness. On his way to Thessaly, the only district of Greece, which still acknowledged the authority of Cassander, Demetrius purposed to revisit Athens, and there to enjoy a second triumph. Together with this intention, he intimated to the Athenians his desire of being initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, provided they could conduct him through the whole detail of this ceremony, in the course of a single day. By an ancient and sacred law, the lesser mysteries were never to be celebrated in the same

Servility of the Athenians.

[74] Lysimachus was exceedingly provoked at this appellation, treasurers being commonly eunuchs, of whose fidelity the Greeks had learned in the East to entertain a high opinion. Conf. Plut. in Demet. and Xenophon de Inst. Cyr. l. vii. p. 196.

CHAP. VII.

month, or the same year with the greater. But this obstacle was removed by the expedient of altering the course of time by a decree; and, after the convenience of Demetrius had been thus consulted, of restoring the months and years to their accustomed order.[75]

Cassander, peace being refused to him, applies to Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy.

Cassander, meanwhile, justly alarmed not only for Thessaly but for Macedon itself, sent ambassadors to crave peace from Antigonus. But the latter prince, not more guarded than his son in concealing the loftiness of his ambition, would hear of no terms short of unconditional submission. This proud answer could not fail to enforce Cassander's negotiations with his neighbour Lysimachus, and with his more distant friends Seleucus and Ptolemy.

State of Lysimachus's affairs at this crisis.

The circumstances, indeed, of all these princes, were at this time highly favourable to a firm and effectual alliance against their common enemies. Lysimachus, by great though obscure exertions, had extended his power over the warlike mountaineers of Hæmus and Rhodopé. He had crossed the former of these barriers, and subdued the Triballi, between Mount Hæmus and the Danube. The Getae, who, on the eastern frontier of the Triballi, inhabited both banks of that river, acknowledged the superiority of his arms. The Autariadæ and other Illyrian tribes, living between the Triballi, and the shores of the Hadriatic, had experienced the valour of Lysimachus, and were ready to

[75] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VII.

accompany his standard. In a word, he commanded the resources, highly important in a military point of view, of those central provinces[76] between the Euxine and Hadriatic, which have long formed the iron frontier of Turkish power, and which have in all ages produced men of slow minds but vigorous bodies, prodigal of life, and rapacious of plunder. The Greek city Calatis, confident in the strength of its walls, still maintained independence. But notwithstanding the precarious freedom of this and other seaports, Lysimachus had built up and consolidated a great military monarchy. To commemorate the success of his reign, and to procure heroic worship for his shade, he had completed his capital Lysimachia, on the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus; a valuable slip of land compressed between the Hellespont and Propontis on one side, and an arm of the Ægean on the other. Near the place where Lysimachia was built, the Isthmus is only thirty-seven furlongs broad, and had been inclosed a century before this period, with a strong wall by Dercyllidas[77], the Lacedæmonian general. Thus defended on the north, the new capital of Thrace, was guarded and adorned by fortified harbours on two seas. It commanded a beautiful peninsula fifty miles long, and fifteen broad; abounding in rich corn-fields, interspersed with lawns and orchards. In magnifi-

Lysimachia.

[76] Diodor. l. xix. s. 73. & Memnon apud Phot.
[77] History of Ancient Greece, v. iii. c. 27.

CHAP. VII.

cence of prospect and conveniency of situation[78], Lysimachia was indeed inferior to Byzantium at the opposite extremity of the Propontis. But in these particulars, Byzantium surpassed all cities in the world; and its natural advantages enabled it, after the death of Alexander, to re-assert, in arms as well as arts, the genuine dignity of a Greek colony, and to elude the grasping usurpation of the Macedonian captains.

State of Seleucus's affairs.

The circumstances of Seleucus were still more prosperous than those of the Thracian king. From the time that he had recovered Babylonia, he had employed nearly ten years in confirming his dominion over the eastern conquests of Alexander. His will had the force of law over the vast regions between the Euphrates and Indus. Seleucus spurned the latter boundary, and claimed for his own the valuable territory between the Indus and Ganges; then wealthier and more commercial than at the present day. But a great revolution in that country defeated his purpose. Sandracottus, an Indian by birth, had learned the art of war in the camp of Alexander. Being endowed with abilities equal to his ambition, he deceived and deserted his instructors, and gradually placed himself at the head of a great army in a country, where it should seem that military adventurers have in all ages been easily attracted to warlike

[78] T. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38.

CHAP. VII.

and liberal standards. Sandracottus reduced the feeble Macedonian garrisons in Lahore, received the submission of their reluctant tributaries, and extended his dominion to Palibothra, now Patna, on the Ganges, which he rendered the capital of his empire. Instead of persevering in an unprofitable war with this illustrious usurper, Seleucus gained his friendship, accepted his daughter in marriage, and, amidst other nuptial gifts, was strengthened for his western warfare, by a present of five hundred elephants.[79] The treaty was maintained with great fidelity between Seleucus and his Indian father-in-law. By means of their steady friendship, the rich staples on the Ganges, particularly Callinypaxa, the modern Canoge, were opened to the commercial enterprise of the Greeks. In this place, the natives of Taprobana, or Ceylon, might be seen trading with the European subjects of Seleucus.[80] For the convenience of caravans, a secure and spacious route, called the Royal road, was traced between the Indus and the Ganges.[81] Megasthenes and Daimachus successively resided at Palibothra, as ambassadors from Seleucus[82]; and, through the wise policy of Alexander's immediate successor in the East, a part of his great plan was carried into execution, and Assyria again enriched through the commerce of India.

His alliance and intercourse with the Indian Sandracottus.

[79] Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. Conf. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. & Plut. in Alexand.

[80] Plin. l. vi. c. 22.

[81] Strabo, l. xv. p. 689. Conf. p. 708

[82] Strabo, l. ii. p. 70.

CHAP. VII.

Seleucia on the Tigris.

Seleucus, as well as Lysimachus, had gratified his vanity and superstition, by founding a new capital distinguished by his name. The numerous inhabitants of Babylon gradually transported themselves about forty-five miles northward to Seleucia on the Tigris. The situation was judiciously chosen in the valuable district of Nineveh or Bagdad, particularly described in a former part of this work; and which, from the local circumstances there mentioned, was peculiarly well calculated to be the seat of a great city. An inundation of the Euphrates, which demolished part of Babylon, and many distinguished privileges bestowed on Seleucia, hastened the aggrandisement of the new capital, at the expence of the old one.[83]

Of Ptolemy.

From the detached situation of Egypt, surrounded by seas or a sandy ocean, Ptolemy had not the same opportunity with his rivals of making valuable contiguous conquests. He had indeed added to his dominions the remote Greek colonies in Cyrené; but his great superiority consisted in the improvement of his domestic resources, by a policy alike active and liberal. His equal laws were faithfully and impartially administered. Industry was protected; letters protected and honoured; the commerce of the kingdom was greatly extended by sea and land; and the munificent encouragement given in Egypt to every useful pursuit, attracted thither vast accessions of peaceful and industrious sub-

[83] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738. & Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

jects from other parts of the empire. Ptolemy affected not the honour of distinguishing a new capital by his name. He had a nobler pride in adorning Alexandria, the immortal monument of his revered brother. That city had now become the seat of arts, commerce, and letters; and had the prospect of long enjoying these advantages, since amidst the wars that desolated the great countries of Asia, Egypt, like a well-guarded island, had for twenty years repelled hostility from its coasts; and the attempts to invade it by Perdiccas and Antigonus, had redounded to the ruin of the former, and the disgrace of the latter. A kingdom that had foiled in its own defence, the two greatest armies ever collected in the empire, was likely to co-operate with decisive effect against the public enemy.

Lysimachus first takes the field against Antigonus. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

It seldom happens that matters can be so secretly adjusted among various and distant allies, as entirely to escape the notice of those who are the objects of their hostility. Yet this concealment was attained by princes residing in Cassandria and Lysimachia in Europe, in Alexandria near the Nile, and in Seleucia on the Tigris. The pride of Antigonus and his son lulled them into a fatal security, while their enemies concerted measures for assailing them with united strength, and for carrying with all dispatch the war into Upper Phrygia, the centre of their dominions. Lysimachus was first in the field, eager to reap the fruits of twenty years' preparation. Demetrius so little appre-

CHAP. VII.

hended any danger from the side of Thrace, that, as the straits of Thermopylæ had been occupied by Cassander, he was preparing to invade Thessaly by sea, with a great fleet, part of which might have been better employed in guarding the Hellespont and Propontis. Lysimachus thus found the passage clear into Asia. He was accompanied thither by Prepelaus, lieutenant to Cassander, commanding a considerable reinforcement. These generals speedily made themselves masters of nearly the whole western coast. Most cities made a show of resistance; several voluntarily surrendered; Abydus as well Erythræ and Clazomené, which were distinguished by a successful defence, subjected their respective territories to the ravages of the enemy. Prepelaus, who took Ephesus, delivered the Rhodian hostages in its castle, and burnt a numerous fleet lying in its harbour. He then marched eastward to the royal city of Sardes, into which he gained admission through the treachery of Phœnix, its governor. The citadel, however, was obstinately defended by the more faithful Philip. Without waiting to besiege it, Prepelaus hastened to join Lysimachus, who, victorious on all sides, had advanced into Upper Phrygia, and fixed his head-quarters at the central city of Synnada[84], which, together with

[84] Synnada is exactly in the middle between the Euxine and Mediterranean in Major Rennell's admirable maps to Xenophon's Retreat. M. D'Anville had contracted Asia Minor by a whole degree of latitude: Mr. Rennell, by the aid of better materials, has restored that Peninsula to its due dimensions.

its fortress, containing a rich treasury, had been betrayed to him by Docimus, another of Antigonus's treacherous generals.[85]

Campaign in Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

That king of Asia, as he affected to be called, still remained in his capital Antigonia, enjoying the conquests of Demetrius in Greece, and hoping speedily to hear news of equally brilliant success in his projected warfare against Thrace and Macedon. To celebrate his future triumphs, he had assembled on the banks of the Orontes a train of musicians and machinists; priests, poets, painters, and all the showy retinue of festive superstition. When he first received intimation of the designs formed against him, he spoke of his enemies in his usual strain of contempt: as annoying vermin that would speedily be dispersed. But the surrender of his cities, and the treachery of his lieutenants, roused him from his haughty repose, and forced him hastily to dismiss his artists and assemble his army.[86] By rapid marches he hastened into Phrygia, before Lysimachus had been joined by his distant confederates. That prince, wisely determining to keep on the defensive until the arrival of Seleucus and Ptolemy, had fortified a camp at Synada; but upon learning Antigonus's approach, and not perfectly satisfied in that neighbourhood as to the security of supplies, he secretly decamped, moved fifty miles northward to the frontier of Phrygia, and posted himself at Doryleum on the confluence of the Bathys and

[85] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 107.

[86] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 108.

CHAP. VII.

Thymbris, which flow into the Sangarius. In this fertile district, he anxiously waited his auxiliaries, after strengthening the natural defences of two rivers by a deep ditch and a triple rampart.[87]

Antigonus, who followed the enemy with all possible diligence, found, on his arrival in the vicinity of Doryleum, the works of Lysimachus completed, and his entrenchments too strong to be forced. To keep alive the alacrity of his troops, he made, however, some slight attacks.

Lysimachus's bold march to Heraclæa.

Lysimachus, from a similar motive, sent forth detachments to repress or retort them. In the skirmishes which thus happened, the king of Asia uniformly prevailed. Discouraged by this circumstance, and perceiving that his adversary by lines of circumvallation had greatly straitened his quarters, Lysimachus determined again to change his position. This measure, which the unwieldly encumbrances of modern war would have rendered impracticable in the face of a superior enemy, the lightness and agility of ancient armies enabled him happily to effect. The maritime city of Heraclæa, a colony of Megara, was distant little more than an hundred miles from Doryleum. It abounded in resources of every kind, having been wisely governed by its late master Dionysius, and still more ably by his widow, Amastris, a Persian princess of extraordinary fortune and more extraordinary endowments.[88] She was the daughter

Amastris. — Her history.

[87] Diodor. l. xx. s. 108.

[88] Arrian and Memnon apud Photium, c. v. p. 709.

of Oxathres, brother to the last Darius; and at the famous nuptial solemnity of Greeks and Persians, had been given in marriage by Alexander to his beloved Craterus. But this general having been induced by motives of policy to espouse Philla, the daughter of Antipater, yielded Amastris to Dionysius, who, from the rank of a private citizen, had been invested with royal honours in Heraclæa. Upon the death of Dionysius, Amastris contracted a third marriage with Lysimachus [89], to whom she brought as her dower the useful friendship of the Heraclæans, who owed to her the greatest obligations, and who, though like other Greek colonies in their neighbourhood, they acknowledged a loose kind of dependence on Antigonus, were now ready to receive and abet his mortal enemy. For reaching in safety these valuable allies, Lysimachus decamped in a dark and stormy night, crossed at known fords the river Bathys and Sangarius, scaled a branch of Bithynian Olympus, and descended from that lofty ridge into the hospitable Salonian plain; from which, but principally from Heraclæa, he was provided with every accommodation necessary for a great army. [90]

Antigonus, when he perceived that his enemies had escaped him, instead of pursuing them across the mountain, chose a parallel and easier line of march towards Heraclæa, along the

[89] Arrian and Memnon apud Photium, c. v. p. 709.
[90] Diodor. l. xx. s. 109.

CHAP. VII.

Phrygian frontier. But heavy rains conspired with the tenacious clay of the soil greatly to interrupt his progress. It was now winter: he had learned that both Seleucus and Ptolemy were in motion; instead of hastening to attack Lysimachus, he determined to wait the arrival of Demetrius; and yielded to the desire of his soldiers of going into quarters in Phrygia for the remainder of the season.[91]

Demetrius joins his father in Asia. Olymp. cxix. 3. B. C. 302.

Before Demetrius received his father's message to attend him, he had invaded Thessaly, the only division of Greece still bridled by Macedonian garrisons. The conquest of Pheræ and Larissa had given to him the command of the whole province; and he now stood on the frontier of Macedon with an army above sixty thousand strong, and nearly double in number to that with which Cassander prepared to oppose him.[92] At this great crisis of his fortune, Demetrius hesitated not a moment to obey his father's commands, how painful soever might be the duty. Merely to save appearances, he granted peace to Cassander, on condition that the Greeks should thenceforward enjoy undisturbed freedom.[93] He then sailed for Ephesus; and having sent part of his fleet to guard the narrow seas, rescued the Asiatic coasts of the Hellespont and Ægæan with more facility from the garrisons of Lysimachus than that prince had recently over-run and subdued them.

[91] Diodor. l. xx. s. 109.

[92] Plut. in Demet. and Diodor. l. xx. s. 110.

[93] Diodor. l. xx. s. 3.

CHAP. VII.

Cassander sends Pleistarchus to reinforce the confederates. — His shipwreck.

Cassander meanwhile determined to avail himself of the enemy's departure, to promote both his private interest and the general good of the confederacy. Instead of following Demetrius into Asia, he remained in Macedon with the greater part of his army, hoping thereby to recover his ascendency in Greece. But his brother Pleistarchus, with twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, was destined to reinforce Lysimachus in the neighbourhood of Heraclæa. On proceeding to the Thracian Bosporus, Pleistarchus found that canal guarded by thirty stout galleys; and at the same time learned, that the Asiatic shore of Chalcedon was secured by strong posts powerfully defended. He resolved therefore to advance northward to Odessus, midway between the Bosporus and the mouths of the Danube, situate on a bay of the Euxine, in a direct course about three hundred miles distant from the opposite bay of Heraclæa. At Odessus a sufficient number of vessels could not be procured for conveying the whole army in one embarkation. It sailed therefore in three successive divisions, of which the first reached Heraclæa in safety; the second was taken by Demetrius's guard-ships; the third, commanded by Pleistarchus in person, was long tossed and finally overwhelmed by a tempest. Only thirty-three persons were saved in the admiral galley, a vessel of six banks of oars, with a complement of five hundred men. Pleistarchus was in that number, being carried to the shore of Heraclæa,

CHAP. VII.

while he clung to a plank of the wreck.[94] About the same time that this disaster happened, several thousands of Lysimachus's soldiers, disgusted with the parsimony or poverty of their master, deserted to the more lucrative service of Antigonus; who, after paying his army three months in advance, had recently drawn to the value of six hundred thousand pounds sterling from the Cilician fortress Kuinda.[95]

Seleucus marches to Lesser Asia to join Lysimachus.

To balance these misfortunes to the confederates, Seleucus had accomplished his long and toilsome march from Upper Asia, and encamped in Cappadocia with an army breathing valour, and bearing the well-earned trophies of the East. After the example of Assyrian and Persian kings, he might have carried with him a far more numerous host. But Seleucus disdained this empty ostentation, well knowing that the enemy with whom he had to contend, was not to be terrified by unwieldly magnitude. His force consisted of twenty thousand chosen infantry; twelve thousand horse; an hundred armed chariots, together with four hundred and eighty elephants, the magnificent present of his father-in-law Sandrocottus.[96]

Ptolemy stands aloof.—His views.

The army of Ptolemy alone was now wanting. But this cautious and crafty prince never reinforced his confederates. Upon Antigonus's departure from Syria, he had indeed invaded that province, and laboured to recover those possessions

[94] Diodor. l. xx. s. 111, 112. [95] Diodor. l. xx. s. 108.
[96] Conf. Diodor. l. xx. cap. ult. Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which he regarded as essential appendages to his Egyptian kingdom. While employed in the tedious siege of Sidon, a report reached his camp [97] that Antigonus had obtained a great and decisive victory over Lysimachus, and was marching with all haste to encounter and chastise the rash invaders of Syria, the seat of his capital, and rich kernel of his empire. In consequence of this rumour, Ptolemy raised the siege of Sidon, and precipitately abandoned his conquests in Syria, glad, perhaps, of a pretext for maintaining his own strength secure and unbroken behind the marshes of the Nile, while his rivals were about to shock in a desperate conflict, that was likely to destroy the vanquished, and deeply to wound the conqueror. CHAP. VII.

Without fruitlessly waiting the arrival of Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus, who had joined forces in Phrygia, prepared for a general engagement. Their infantry, amounting to sixty-four thousand men, fell little short of that of the enemy now assembled under Antigonus and his son in the same province. The cavalry on either side exceeded twelve thousand. Antigonus, however, had only seventy-five elephants. A delay should seem to have been occasioned by the desire in both parties to fight with their whole force, in a battle that was to prove decisive, but of which no description has come

Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia. Olymp. cxix. 4. B. C. 301.

[97] Diodor. l. xx. cap. ult.

CHAP. VII.

down to us[98], and of which even the scene is not precisely ascertained. The name of Ipsus, indeed, is familiar, but its site is unknown. It must have stood, however, in that district of Phrygia, which received the epithet of Paroreidon, from its inclosure between two parallel ridges: it is a narrow, but very long valley, well watered and fruitful. In this district, and twenty-five miles south of Synnada, there was a city, called in modern times, Seleukter, probably a corruption of Seleucia.[99] Among the many cities by which Seleucus commemorated his exploits, he would hardly fail, when master of Asia, to connect his name with the field of Ipsus, the most important of all his victories. In this manner, Ipsus would disappear from geography, though it remained in history. It was thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, that Rossus, an ancient city near the mouth of the Orontes, lost its name in Seleucia Pieria. Seleucter, more commonly called Sakli, forms the point of separation, of the great route through the Peninsula from Syria, into two roads leading, respectively, to Ephesus and to Byzantium. The post was judiciously chosen for the defence of Lesser Asia, and we shall see that Demetrius benefited by this position, in effecting his escape. Antigonus, now in his

[98] There is a blank in the text of Diodorus, who has preserved, from Jerom of Cardia, the less memorable battles of Antigonus.

[99] I owe this conjecture to my friend Major Rennell. See his Expedition of Cyrus, p. 34.

eighty-first[100] year, had long maintained his ascendency by resolution and energy. Though a stern commander and rigid master, he was accustomed in the hottest battle to relax his austerity, to array his countenance in smiles, and to encourage his troops by lively familiar sallies, and even loud laughter. But, at the crisis of his fortune, he began to tremble on the giddy height to which his ambition had ascended. On the important day, the tall unwieldy old man unfortunately tripped as he issued from his pavilion and fell prostrate on the ground. This accident roused his latent superstition: he hesitated about his order of battle, he shewed Demetrius to the troops, and prayed for himself that he might at least fall in the arms of victory. The combat having begun with the cavalry, Demetrius bravely repelled the hostile squadrons commanded by young Antiochus, son and successor to Seleucus. But his eagerness in the pursuit carried him beyond due bounds[101], and afforded an opportunity to Seleucus, by interposing a line of elephants, to intercept his return, and thereby to prevent that co-operation between the infantry and horse, from which the specific excellence of the Macedonian tactics resulted. Antigonus's phalanx being thus left unguarded, was threatened by the attack in flank, generally decisive. The mere apprehension of this consequence, made a great part of the infantry revolt to the enemy. The

[100] Appian, Syriac. c. 55. & Lucian in Macrob.
[101] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VII.

remainder being outflanked, afforded an easy victory: the nearer part of their deep line was encompassed, compressed, and cut in pieces; the more remote was disordered and put to flight. [102] When the tumult of battle approached the person of Antigonus, who still anxiously expected aid from his son, that unhappy old man was deserted by those around him, and overwhelmed by a shower of javelins. Thorax of Larissa alone remained in the field, and was found guarding the dead body of the king. Demetrius returned from his ill-judged pursuit only to learn the death of his father, and to behold the dreadful extent of their common calamity. In this deplorable state of his affairs, he hastened to join the fugitives. By a precipitate retreat of two hundred miles, he escaped to Ephesus, and there regained the protection of his fleet, with only four thousand horse and five thousand infantry. [103] Such was the decisive battle of Ipsus, which destroyed the hopes and the life of Antigonus, the second of Alexander's captains who had aspired to universal empire.

[102] Plutarch in Demet.

[103] Id. ibid. & Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

CHAP. VIII.

New Partition of the Empire. — Flight of Demetrius to Greece. — His Transactions there and in Thrace. — Marries his Daughter to Seleucus. — Surprises the Strong-holds in Cilicia. — Sends Pyrrhus as Hostage into Egypt. — History of Cassander and his Sons. — Demetrius King of Macedon. — Lysimachus's War beyond the Danube. — Demetrius's second Greatness. — His City Demetrias. — His capricious Government. — Macedon wrested from him by Lysimachus. — His Expedition into Lesser Asia. — Captivity, Death, and Character. — Polygamy — its Effects on the Affairs of Alexander's Successors. — Ptolemy, his Wives and Sons. — His younger Son raised by him to the Throne. — Tragedy in the Family of Lysimachus. — Which involves him in War with Seleucus. — Motives and Views of the latter Prince. — Story of his Son Antiochus and Wife Stratonicé. — Lysimachus slain in the Battle of Corupedion. — His Character. — New Cities. — Fond Hopes of Seleucus. — Is assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunus. — Motives of the Assassin. — Seleucus's Character. — His new Cities. — Ptolemy Soter. — His wise Administration. — Prosperous State of Egypt. — Letters, Sciences, and Arts. — Coronation Festival of his Son.

CHAP. VIII.

Partition of Antigonus's territories. Olymp. cxix. 4. B. C. 301.

Of the four confederates against Antigonus and his son, Seleucus only and Lysimachus fought in the decisive battle of Ipsus: Cassander, though not actually present, reinforced their arms with a considerable body of troops under his brother Pleistarchus; Ptolemy neither appeared in person, nor sent any auxiliaries. He recovered,

CHAP. VIII.

however, the quiet possession of Cœle-Syria and Palæstine, appendages essential to his kingdom. Seleucus gained the rest of Syria, and was confirmed in his extensive dominion between the Euphrates and the Indus.[1] Lysimachus acquired Lesser Asia, from the Ægæan sea to those lofty highlands, which shut up the eastern frontier of Cappadocia, and, bending southward, repel the Euphrates from the Mediterranean. This mountainous tract, called afterwards Seleucian[2] Cappadocia, bounded Lysimachus's possessions eastward. His jurisdiction, therefore, comprehended the ancient kingdom of Crœsus; in other words, nearly the whole of the Asiatic peninsula. Cassander obtained nothing in Asia for himself; but his brother Pleistarchus was invested with the valuable province of Cilicia.[3]

The harbour of Athens shut against Demetrius.

While the confederates were employed in adjusting their claims, and taking possession of their conquests, Demetrius, who had hastily embarked at Ephesus, prepared to remedy, as far as possible, the sad consequences of defeat. He had reason to hope that his strong garrisons in Tyre and Sidon would still defend these cities, although Phœnicia and all Syria lay at the mercy of his enemies. He was master of the isle of Cyprus. His troops retained hold of Megara, Corinth, and Sicyon. His fleet

[1] Appian, Syriac. c. 55. Polyb. Excerp. e Legat. s. 82. and Plutarch in Demet.

[2] It was that part of Cappadocia subject to Seleucus, the greater part of the province belonging to Lysimachus.

[3] Plutarch in Demet.

was far the mightiest in the empire; and for retrieving his affairs, he relied on the cordial assistance of many Greek cities, especially of his beloved Athens, the object of his unbounded kindness, which that republic had hitherto repaid by more boundless adulation. Towards Athens, which worshipped him as her tutelary god, he immediately proceeded, and was steering his course through the Cyclades, when a vessel, conveying ambassadors from that state, met him at sea, and acquainted him, that the Athenians had just passed a decree, forbidding any of the kings to be admitted within their walls. In conformity with this resolution, they informed him that his spouse Deidamia had been escorted with all due respect from Athens to Megara.[4]

He lands at Corinth.

Demetrius received the news like a man who knew that the blackest ingratitude might naturally be expected in adversity, from a people who had been the vilest flatterers of his power. He only required them to send round to Corinth the ships belonging to him in their harbours; and, at the same time, directed his course for that city. Upon his arrival there, he found that during his unfortunate expedition into Asia, Cassander had been successfully employed in recovering his ascendency in both divisions of Greece; that Thessaly and Bœotia had again submitted to his arms; and that several strongholds of Peloponnesus were already bridled with his garrisons. As nothing of moment therefore

Makes a predator

[4] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VIII.

expedition against Thrace.

could be hastily effected in this quarter, Demetrius availed himself of the superiority of his fleet, and the continuance of Lysimachus in Asia, to make extensive and ruinous depredations on the coast of Thrace. From the Hellespont to mount Hæmus, the maritime parts of that country were plundered or desolated. In this manner he at once enriched his soldiers, and retaliated the injuries of his worst enemy.[5]

Lysimachus marries Ptolemy's daughter.

Meanwhile, Seleucus and Lysimachus gradually lost that cordiality as neighbours, which they had long maintained as allies. The vast dominions of the former, in many parts very feebly guarded, might prove a dangerous temptation to the latter, who had carried with him to the East almost the whole strength of Thrace, and who, by his dominion in the Asiatic peninsula, containing such a strong mixture of European blood, might successfully invade the less warlike provinces of Upper Asia. The natural jealousy between these ambitious princes, was heightened by the complicated affinities which Lysimachus contracted with the king of Egypt. Agathocles, heir to his dominions, had married Lysandra, a daughter of Ptolemy by Euridicé; his daughter Arsinoé was betrothed to Ptolemy's son, afterwards surnamed Philadelphus; and Lysimachus himself, after separating from Amastris, the mother of Agathocles, now obtained in wedlock Arsinoé, Ptolemy's daughter

[5] Diodorus and Plutarch.

CHAP. VIII.

by his second wife Berenicé a woman all-powerful with her husband. To counterbalance[6] this close connection between his rivals, Seleucus turned his eyes to Demetrius, who had recently shewn himself still qualified to become an useful auxiliary. Though himself advanced in years, and happy in the virtues of his son Antiochus[7], Seleucus desired in marriage Stratonicé, daughter to Demetrius by Philla, herself the favourite daughter of Antipater. In accomplishments Stratonicé imitated her mother, of whom we have before spoken, and still surpassed her in beauty.[8]

Which makes Seleucus seek a marriage in the family of Demetrius.

Demetrius greedily embraced an alliance, which afforded him a near prospect of repairing his fortune. His affairs in Greece were entrusted to young Pyrrhus, the expatriated king of Epirus, his companion in arms at the unfortunate battle of Ipsus. Having collected a powerful armament, he embarked with Stratonicé, and sailed for the coast of Syria, where Seleucus had already built Antioch, on the Orontes, from the ruins of demolished Antigonia. Seleucia, however, had not yet risen near the mouth of that river, so that Demetrius landed at the more ancient port of Rossus; a place thenceforward unnoticed in history, because Seleucia, the harbour, as it were, of Antioch, was destined speedily to drain Rossus

Demetrius sails with his daughter, Stratonicé to Syria. Olymp. cxx. 2. B. C. 299.

[6] Plutarch, ibid.

[7] Born to him by the Parthian Apama. Strabo, l. xii. p. 578. and Appian, Syriac.

[8] Appian and Plutarch, ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

of its inhabitants, and to reduce it to obscurity. In his way to Rossus with his affianced daughter, Demetrius displayed his characteristic eccentricity. Having made a sudden descent on the coast of Cilicia, he plundered the treasury of Kuinda of twelve hundred talents. Leaving Pleistarchus to prefer unavailing complaints to his allies, he hastily embarked, reached Syria in safety, presented Stratonicé to her admirer; and having celebrated with him three days the nuptial festivity, returned unexpectedly to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. Pleistarchus, believing his neighbour Seleucus to be privy to this enterprise, fled in trepidation to Cassander in Macedon.[9]

Surprises Cilicia, and wrests it from Pleistarchus.

For a short time, indeed, the appearance of confidential friendship subsisted between the king of Syria and Demetrius. Through the interference of Seleucus, Demetrius obtained a reconciliation with Ptolemy, and even betrothed the Egyptian princess Ptolemais, (Ptolemy's daughter by Euridicé,) though their marriage was not celebrated till many years afterwards. But the enterprising spirit of his young father-in-law at length awakened in Seleucus the most uneasy suspicions. The maritime province of Cilicia, with the seaports of Tyre and Sidon, were dangerous possessions in the hands of so active a prince, still master of Cyprus and many cities in Greece; commanding a considerable land-force, and the greatest fleet in

Seleucus's jealousy of Demetrius.

[9] Appian & Plutarch. ibid.

the empire. Seleucus offered to purchase from him Cilicia, at a vast price. Demetrius indignantly rejected this proposal; and not only strengthened the natural defences of Cilicia, but to defeat the grasping disposition of Seleucus, powerfully reinforced his garrisons in Tyre and Sidon. About the same time, Ptolemy, who began to feel alarm for the safety of his coasts and the security of his trade, required hostages from his new ally for the maintenance of the amity recently contracted between them, and of which Ptolemais was to be the future bond. Demetrius consented to this condition, not unusual in such engagements. Having settled his affairs in the East, he returned to his possessions in Greece; received his garrisons in good order from Pyrrhus; and sent that young prince, whom he then greatly valued, as his hostage into Egypt; an occurrence, which, by affording to the yet obscure Epirot an opportunity of recommending himself to the friendship of Ptolemy, reinstated him in his hereditary kingdom, and eventually enabled him to embark in those bold projects from which his name derives so much lustre. The pride of Demetrius concurred with his interest, in carrying him a third time towards Athens, then governed by Lachares, a creature of Cassander; and the cruel oppressor of his fellow-citizens. [19] The city made an obstinate resistance, the Athenians having passed a decree denouncing death against any who

CHAP. VIII.

[19] Pausanias, Attic. c. 25 et 29.

CHAP. VIII.

should talk of submission to an invader, whom their former ingratitude, they believed, must have exasperated to the utmost pitch of vengeance. The great superiority of his armament enabled Demetrius to block up Athens by sea and land. But a sudden storm which shattered or sunk many of his ships, and the arrival of an hundred and fifty sail carrying supplies from Egypt, long retarded his success. At length he collected double that number of galleys from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Peloponnesus; drove the unequal fleet of Ptolemy, now his open enemy, from the Athenian coast; and intercepted so completely all kinds of supplies from the besieged city during many months, that its defenders were compelled to submission, through the combined pressure of sedition and famine. Demetrius summoned the citizens to the market-place. Lachares, his most obnoxious adversary, had escaped in disguise; but the partisans of the Macedonian interest, and the whole body of the Athenian people, had reason to apprehend that they were to pay dearly for their past offences, when they perceived that their unarmed multitude was surrounded on all sides by Demetrius's soldiers. But this terror was their only punishment. Having gently chid them for their former ingratitude, he relieved their wants by a present of an hundred thousand measures of wheat: placed all offices of magistracy in the hands of persons most acceptable to the people at large; and left the Athenians in astonishment at his lenity

CHAP. VIII.

and bounty, after bridling their levity by firm garrisons. [11]

His war against Sparta.

The possession of Sparta, which for thirty years had enjoyed an inglorious peace, seemed chiefly wanting to secure Demetrius in his dominion of Peloponnesus. The war was undertaken; the Spartan king Archidamus, a hereditary name, was defeated in two engagements; and the feeble walls which Sparta, instead of continuing to trust in the spears of her citizens, had recently erected [12], could not long have resisted the arms of Poliorcetes. But news of a various and most important nature saved the degenerate Lacedæmonians from the uplifted stroke just ready to fall on them. Demetrius learned that his lieutenants in Cyprus had been defeated by Ptolemy; and that Lysimachus had attacked his garrisons in Cilicia. To compensate for the mortification of this intelligence, his presence was requested in Macedon [13], in consequence of tragical misfortunes in the family of Cassander, long his inveterate enemy.

Is withdrawn from it by tempting prospects in Macedon. Olymp. cxxi. 2. B. C. 295.

Cassander, having governed Macedon nineteen years [14], died of a dropsy [15], three years after his authority had been placed on a secure footing by the battle of Ipsus. His eldest son Philip, who succeeded him, soon followed his father to the grave. The throne was disputed between the two brothers of Philip, Antigonus and Alexander, whose common mother Thes-

[11] Plutarch in Demet.
[12] Pausanias, l. i. c. 13.
[13] Plutarch in Demet.
[14] Dexipp. in Chronic. Euseb. p. 57.
[15] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7.

CHAP. VIII.

salonicé, espousing the weaker cause, was murdered by Antigonus with shocking circumstances of cruelty. The spectacle of a son denying life to a mother's supplications by the breast which had nourished him, melted even the obdurate hearts of the Macedonians. Abetted by the public resentment and the assistance of Pyrrhus, no longer a hostage in Egypt, but restored by the money and troops of Ptolemy to his petty kingdom of Epirus, Alexander was enabled to defeat and expel his parricidal brother, who, being son-in-law to Lysimachus, fled to that prince for protection. Dreading the vengeance of both, Alexander craved succour from Demetrius, who hastened through the whole length of Greece from Sparta to Dium; but before he reached this frontier town of Macedon, the circumstances were changed which had occasioned his invitation thither. Lysimachus, being involved in a dangerous war with the Getæ beyond the Danube, was altogether unable to give assistance to his unworthy suppliant; and Alexander had paid so dearly to Pyrrhus for his aid, especially by being obliged to cede to him the provinces of Ambracia and Acarnania, contiguous to Epirus, that he was thoroughly disgusted with all foreign auxiliaries. He therefore proceeded to meet Demetrius at Dium, with every demonstration of gratitude and affection, but at the same time acquainted him, that he was happily relieved from the necessity of having recourse to his assistance. Demetrius, who was actuated by

He catches the king of Macedon in his own snare.

very unwarrantable motives in his expedition to Macedon, clearly perceived by this proceeding that his designs were defeated. But he had not less reason to be suspicious in his turn; since Alexander, perceiving that he delayed to take his departure, had concerted measures for assassinating him during a public entertainment, at which he had engaged him to be his guest. This plot was discovered; and its execution prevented by Demetrius's precaution in coming to his appointment so well accompanied, that the traitor found no opportunity of perpetrating his crime. Demetrius disguised his resentment; and to catch the adversary in his own snare, finally took his leave with many professions of friendship. Alexander, through pretended respect, escorted him with an army to Larissa in Thessaly: to conceal his own designs, he betrayed no distrust of Demetrius, but accepted with a slight attendance the hospitality of that prince. In the midst of the entertainment, Demetrius rose from table, and being followed by Alexander, whispered the sentinel placed at his door, "kill him who follows me." Alexander was instantly dispatched, together with those of his attendants who interposed in his defence. One of them regretted with his last words, that Demetrius had anticipated similar treachery on their part by a single day. [16] CHAP. VIII.

The descendants of Alexander, son of Philip, had perished; and Thessalonicé, recently mur- Circumstances favourable

[16] Conf. Plutarch in Demet. and in Pyrrho.

CHAP. VIII.

to Demetrius in Macedon.

dered, had been the last survivor among the children of Philip himself. The destruction of the sons of Thessalonicé removed all the male heirs, save the abominable Antigonus [17], of the virtuous and able Antipater, himself a faithful minister, but whose family basely supplanted that of his master. Demetrius, who had completed this catastrophe, was himself a *Temenide*, deducing his descent from the revered founder of the Macedonian monarchy. His wife was Philla, the accomplished daughter of Antipater whose premature judgment that sagacious statesman disdained not to consult on the weightiest affairs; whose condescending popularity rendered her the idol of the Macedonians; and who had given to Demetrius a son named Antigonus of the most promising hopes, uniting his mother's discretion with his father's enterprise. To these recommendations, Demetrius added the command of an army ready to support by force his claims of right. Accordingly he hastened to address the assembled Macedonians, to justify his act of vengeance by evidence as well as arguments, and to offer himself for their king and general. No competitor remained to dispute with him that rank, except the abhorred Antigonus [18]; now a fugitive in Thrace, where,

[17] This is the name given to the parricide by Dexippus and Eusebius. Pausanias and others call him Antipater. I prefer the name of Antigonus, because it serves to explain a difficulty in Laertius's life of Demetrius Phalereus; namely, that "he fled to Egypt after the death of Cassander, for fear of Antigonus." The Antigonus here meant is plainly the blood-thirsty son of Cassander.

[18] Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7.

CHAP. VIII.

being disappointed of the assistance which he solicited from Lysimachus, he speedily formed the resolution of assassinating that prince: but his conspiracy was brought to light, and he was consigned to just punishment.

Acknowledged king, and joined at Pella by his wife Philla. Olymp. cxxi. 3. B. C. 294.

The speech of Demetrius was received with acclamations by the Macedonians at Larissa; who, instead of an invader justly formidable, gladly accepted a master whom they had many reasons to approve. He was conducted to Pella in triumph, and acknowledged by the great body of a nation, who had long known no other will than that of the soldiery. A circumstance which greatly added to the satisfaction of all orders of men, was the arrival of Philla from Greece. She had been made captive by Ptolemy in his conquest of Cyprus; and, with the generosity which, amidst their mutual warfare, this prince and Demetrius always shewed towards each other, had been treated with the utmost respect, and sent with many presents and an honourable escort to Corinth, from whence she now proceeded to her husband. [19]

He enslaves Thebes, and prepares to invade Thrace.

The assumption of the crown by Demetrius was announced by the expulsion of Pyrrhus from his usurpations in the Macedonian territory: and an expedition was undertaken against Thebes; a city which, owing the greatest obligations to Cassander, its restorer from ruin or obscurity, too boldly opposed the scourge of his family. Thebes, as well as the smaller cities in

[19] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VIII.

Bœotia, which had adopted her resentment, were reduced to unconditional submission; and the historian Jerom of Cardia, who, since the death of his friend Eumenes, had followed the fortunes of his conqueror, was set over them as governor. This expedition was scarcely terminated, when news reached Demetrius, that Lysimachus, the neighbour whom he most dreaded, had been made captive in his war with the Getæ beyond the Danube. Such an opportunity of taking vengeance on his most inveterate foe, could not be neglected. The king of Macedon hastened homeward, that he might conduct his army into Thrace. But before he entered the latter country, his progress was arrested by new and very extraordinary intelligence.

Lysimachus made prisoner, but generously released by Dromichætes king of the Getæ or Goths.

Lysimachus, indeed, as well as his brave son Agathocles, had been made prisoners by the Getæ, but both of them had been released by those Barbarians, now become their allies. The following circumstances of this transaction have been deemed worthy of record. Lysimachus had crossed the Danube, defeated the Getæ, or Goths[20], and stripped them of a large tract of territory. But his insatiable rapacity had been caught in a snare, laid for him by the crafty Nomades. One of their chiefs, pretending to be a deserter, had taken refuge in his camp; and, under colour of conducting him to more important conquests, had decoyed a numerous

[20] Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iv. passim. and Plin. l. vi. c. 12.

army into those frightful deserts of western Scythia, where Darius Hystaspis narrowly escaped death through fatigue and hunger.[21] Under these unhappy circumstances, and nearly destitute of water, Lysimachus was compelled to surrender to Dromichætes king of the Getæ.[22] The Barbarians, with dreadful yells, demanded the blood of their prisoners; but their more prudent sovereign, with the moderation worthy of Krim Gueray[23], who, in our own times, reigned mildly over part of the same country, restrained their brutal fury. Thrace, he told them, would devolve to another king, who could not fail to revenge the death of Lysimachus. But this prince, by generous treatment, might be converted into a peaceful neighbour and a grateful ally. He therefore released his captives and invited them to a banquet, in which they were entertained after the Macedonian fashion with well-prepared viands served on plates of silver[24], while the wine went round in golden goblets. He then conducted them to the tents of the Getæ, who were feeding on the coarsest fare from wooden trenchers, and drinking their vile beverage from horns. In shewing this contrast, Dromichætes insinuated the wisdom of keeping peace with a people, whose mode of life presented so many dissuasives from war. Having

CHAP. VIII.

Lysimachus entertained by the Goths, with whom he makes an alliance

[21] Herodot. l. iv. c. 85. et seq.

[22] Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 560. and Strabo, l. vii. p. 465.

[23] Baron Tott's Travels.

[24] Diodorus says, a table of silver. Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. ex Lib. xxi. p. 560.

CHAP. VIII.

filled a large horn with pure wine, he addressed Lysimachus with the honoured name of father, and drank to their eternal amity.[25] Their friendship was afterwards cemented by the marriage of Lysimachus's daughter with the king of the Getæ.

Demetrius's second greatness. Olymp. cxxii. 1. B. C. 292. Olymp. cxxiii. 1. B. C. 288.

The sudden return of the royal captives to Thrace, frustrated Demetrius's purpose of invading that country. But his absence in the north, which was expected to have been of much longer continuance, afforded the opportunity to his warlike neighbour, Pyrrhus, for making an inroad into Thessaly; and encouraged the Bœotians to rebel against their governor Jerom. Both these enemies were discomfited with little difficulty; the former by Demetrius in person; the latter, by his son Antigonus. As Thebes still remained hostile, Demetrius, after driving Pyrrhus from Thessaly, returned to besiege that city, took it by assault, and bridled it with a strong garrison. The king of Macedon was now attaining to a second greatness; a sort of after-spring to his former towering and splendid prosperity. About this time, to immortalize his name, he built Demetrias in Thessaly, on the inmost recess of the Pelasgic gulph: he also betrothed the daughter of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse; whose transactions, the connecting bond between the history of the East and West, will be related in

[25] Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. ex Lib. xvi. p. 560.

CHAP. VIII.

a subsequent part of this work. Throughout his whole reign, the great object of Demetrius was to augment his fleets and armies, purposing to apply them efficaciously towards recovering in its full extent the dominion held by his father. As the Ætolians and Pyrrhus were likely to create him much disturbance at home during his distant expedition, he greatly reduced those dangerous neighbours, ravaging Ætolia, which had so often poured forth ravagers on the provinces around it, and inflicting on Epirus those evils which Pyrrhus was destined signally to avenge.

His fleets and armies.

Demetrius's genius for ship-building was exercised with unremttting diligence in the harbours of Pella, Athens, Corinth, Eubœa, and Corcyra,* which island he received as the dower of Agathocles's daughter. Towards the end of his seven years' reign in Macedon, his ships of war amounted to five hundred, among which were many galleys of fifteen and sixteen banks of oars, which, notwithstanding their bulkiness, were as manageable and nimble as those of an ordinary rate.[26] His land-forces amounted to an hundred and ten thousand, of which twelve thousand were cavalry. With such an army, and the greatest fleet in the world, it is not wonderful that this restless child of ambition should entertain the loftiest designs; but he unfortunately revealed them, before his ships were perfectly equipped, or his soldiers ready to march.

[26] Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VIII.

His vanity and tyranny.

In an age of the world when it was still customary to represent, by external emblems, the hopes and fears of the mind and each variation of fortune, his robe of royalty was embroidered with the kingdoms of the earth and the stars of heaven. His head was encompassed with the novelty of a double diadem, surpassing in magnificence that formerly worn by the paramount kings of the East[27]; and while the arrogance of his pretensions and measures excited against him a confederacy of foreign enemies, the madness of his domestic government enraged his subjects both in Greece and Macedon, yet unfashioned to oriental despotism. On one occasion, the ambassadors of Athens, for that state still preserved the semblance of liberty, were allowed to wait two years without an audience. On another, while Demetrius made a progress through the streets of Pella, he received more graciously than usual the numerous petitions that were presented to him. But he had no sooner reached the bridge over the Axius, than unfolding his purple mantle, he consigned the papers to the wind.[28] In addition to such frantic insults, it is unnecessary to mention lesser causes of offence, among which may be reckoned his numerous marriages[29], in contempt

[27] Entitled the *Great King*, and king of kings; appellations, as will appear hereafter, preposterously assumed by many degenerate princes of the Greek dynasty.

[28] Plutarch in Demet.

[29] Plutarch in Demet. & in Pyrrho; they will be enumerated hereafter.

of the institutions of Greece and of his affectionate Philla, whose virtues were adored by the Macedonians.

Macedon conquered by Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B. C. 288.

The overweaning confidence of Demetrius, which openly exhibited its extravagance in all the wildest freaks of tyranny, was equalled only by the secrecy and celerity of his antagonists. The kings of Thrace and Egypt prepared to overthrow an insolent and dangerous domination, which alarmed the independence of neighbours, and trampled on the feelings of subjects. Ptolemy, who was all-powerful with Pyrrhus, engaged that prince in a zealous co-operation with their views. While Demetrius was yet preparing his galleys, and anticipating the scenes of his future glory, Ptolemy approached Greece with his fleet. Lysimachus entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; Pyrrhus, on that of Epirus. The king of Macedon flew to the defence of his northern frontier against Lysimachus. But learning that Pyrrhus had advanced to Beræa, within twenty miles of Pella, he hastily changed his direction to repel that invader. The Macedonians, whom he suspected of unwillingness to follow him, would be less liable, he thought, to disaffection and desertion in acting against Pyrrhus, a foreigner whom they had often defeated, than against their own countryman Lysimachus, who had often led them to victory. But their disgust at capricious tyranny made them eager to change Demetrius for any master; and Pyrrhus, besides that he was cousin-german to the great Alexander, had

CHAP. VIII.

even, amidst his defeats, displayed much military skill and romantic heroism. Though hitherto unsuccessful against Demetrius in person, he had on one great occasion vanquished his general in Thessaly, and made five thousand prisoners; whom, by his generous treatment of them, he had converted into devoted partisans. Demetrius's army no sooner approached the enemy, than it broke out into open mutiny; while the greatness of the desertion announced a total and immediate revolt. The unworthy king, who now reaped the bitter fruits of his past folly, narrowly escaped public vengeance, by flying in disguise to Cassandria, from which Macedonian city he travelled under a new disguise into Greece. His wife Philla, weary of longer participating in his inconstancy of fortune, drank poison. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus divided Macedon between them.

Flight of Demetrius and death of Philla.

Leaving his son Antigonus to defend Greece, and not waiting to chastise the new ingratitude of Athens, Demetrius, whose innate activity never allowed him under the worst circumstances to despair, put himself at the head of twelve thousand chosen infantry and a considerable body of horse. With these troops he hastily embarked for the coast of Lesser Asia, hoping, while Lysimachus was busy with his new arrangements in Macedon, to surprise his more valuable possessions in that peninsula. In that age, wars were not carried on with punctilious caution. Those who cannot move, without carriages and magazines, will commonly be defeated by gene-

Demetrius conducts an army of Greeks into Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B.C. 287.

rals of a more active school. The enterprise of Demetrius was eminently successful. Caria, Ionia, all Lydia, with its capital Sardes, readily submitted to his arms. He was carried forward on the flattering tide of fortune, and on the point of compensating in the East for his losses in the West, when Agathocles, the accomplished son of Lysimachus, crossed over into Asia and clouded his prosperity. By movements equally rapid with those of his adversary, the Thracian prince cut off Demetrius from his resources, and drove him into the irretrievable error of quitting the communication with his fleet. Demetrius led his reluctant army through the windings of Taurus, while the Greeks remonstrated against the severe sufferings to which they were daily exposed; yet failed not amidst their repinings, gaily to apostrophise their general in the parodied lines of Sophocles, "Son of blind Antigonus [30], into what frightful regions hast thou brought us?" Their complaints became so outrageous, that Demetrius would have been compelled, however unwillingly, to return towards the coast. But Agathocles had occupied the passes in those mountains formerly mentioned, which overhang Cappadocia, and which separated the dominions of Seleucus and Lysimachus. The former of these princes thought it necessary to guard in person the frontier of Syria. Under such circumstances, Demetrius wrote a letter of supplication to his son-in-law, who, at

Reduced to difficulties by Agathocles, has recourse to Seleucus.

[30] Antigonus was nick-named Cyclops, as we have seen above.

CHAP. VIII.

the instance, it is said, of his courtiers, refused him all farther indulgence than that of passing two winter months in Seleucian Cappadocia.[31]

Seleucus compels him to surrender.

Enraged at this treatment, Demetrius attacked several of the advanced posts of Seleucus, and was on the point of surprising the royal encampment in the night, when a mercenary deserter betrayed his design. Seleucus, now in his seventy-fifth year, determined to rid himself of this dangerous visitant in a manner characteristic of Alexander's generals. The next day he hastened with few attendants to Demetrius's tents; and when he came in sight of the soldiers, taking the helmet from his head[32] that he might be clearly recognised by them, remonstrated against their folly in adhering to a rash adventurer in opposition to their old and affectionate friend, who for their sakes only had delayed to employ against them his resistless arms. Demetrius, forsaken by most of his troops, wandered several days weakly attended in the woods of Cilicia, hoping to force his way to the Grecian sea. But as he found the neighbouring passes of Taurus well guarded by the enemy, he came to the resolution of delivering himself to his son-in-law, notwithstanding the audacity with which he had so recently provoked him.

Captivity of Demetrius. Olymp. cxxiii. 2. B. C. 287.

Seleucus sent him to the Syrian Chersonesus, a jutting headland sixty miles south of Antioch, having directly in sight the isle of Cyprus;

[31] See the beginning of this chapter.

[32] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 9. and Plutarch in Demet.

once the pride of Demetrius, being the prize of his great naval victory. Antigonus, when he learned his captivity, with the filial affection that characterised many successive princes of their family, offered himself and all his possessions to recover his father's freedom. Seleucus denied his request, but also rejected with scorn the bribe of two thousand talents from Lysimachus to purchase his prisoner's death.[33] Demetrius was kept in easy confinement, being allowed the exercise of hunting, and all other amusements, within the precincts of his well-guarded peninsula, which, from the geography of its mountains, bays, and rivers, was distinguished by names derived from the Macedonian district of Pella.[34] But the want of liberty, and perhaps the sight of Cyprus so agonizing to his ambition, gradually blunted the relish for manly pleasures. He gave himself up to intemperance and sloth, writing to his son Antigonus to make no more intercessions in his favour, to consider him thenceforward as dead, to refuse credit to any letters which his enemies might forge in his name, and to defend with vigilance and spirit the Greek cities yet acknowledging his authority. Antigonus, by complying with this advice, was enabled, nine years after his father's death, to recover his abdicated kingdom of Macedon. Demetrius died in the third year of his captivity, and fifty-fourth of his age. The above-mentioned letter to Antigonus is the last-recorded

Death three years afterwards, and character.

[33] Diodor. Excerp. l. xxi. p. 561. [34] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752.

CHAP. VIII.

transaction of a man, who was once at the head of the greatest force ever commanded by any of Alexander's successors, and whose variety of fortune is only surpassed by the inconstancy of his conduct; his prosperity being never more lofty than his acts of virtue were splendid, nor his adversity ever more cloudy than his vices were execrable and his follies contemptible. His parallel with Mark Antony holds in many, but those the worst parts of his character; though his ill-balanced frame of mind deformed the august model of Alexander, with whom he has also been compared, and with whom he might with more propriety be contrasted. In ambition and abilities and the rapid alternations of his glory and disgrace, he strikingly resembled the irregular greatness of Alcibiades: both of them alike eccentric in their excellences and demerits; characters detested or pitied by the good and wise, and even with the vulgar, names of ambiguous renown. Seleucus, as if he had repented of the harsh treatment of his father-in-law, sent his ashes in a golden urn, encircled with a diadem, to his son Antigonus. This dutiful prince sailed from Corinth, the principal seat of his power, and met the funeral escort in the midst of the Ægæan sea.[35] The remains of Demetrius were then conveyed to Thessaly, and solemnly interred in the city bearing his name near the mouth of the river Naurus[36] on the Pelasgic gulph; a city faithful to the son of its founder,

His interment in Demetrius.

[35] Plutarch in Demet.

[36] Strabo, l. ix. p. 436.

and which became, under the Macedonian kings of his family, one of the strongest fetters of Greece. CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius was allied by marriage with all his royal contemporaries, except Lysimachus only. Philla, the sister of Cassander, bore to him his successor Antigonus surnamed Gonatas, from Gonnos in Thessaly the place of his birth; and the admired Stratonicé, married successively to Seleucus, and to Antiochus, the son of that princè. History is silent as to the fruit of Demetrius's marriages with Lanassa, daughter to Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, and with Deidamia, sister to Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and with Euridicé the descendant of Miltiades the Athenian. By Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter, he had a son called after himself, who obtained a transient royalty in Cyrené: and who inherited, together with the name of Demetrius, his elegance of person, his profligacy, and his bad fortune. Allied by marriage with all the kings his contemporaries, except Lysimachus.

This privilege of polygamy, though used more sparingly by the other Greek kings of the East, was asserted however by all of them, and proved to most a fertile source of misery. Through their intermarriages, also, with each other, national hostility was embittered, and often excited, by domestic broils. To causes of this sort we may refer the future destinies of the three remaining successors of Alexander; Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus; all of them quitted life in the same Olympiad; Ptolemy a year after Demetrius; Lysimachus at the same interval Unhappy effects of polygamy.

CHAP. VIII.

from the death of Ptolemy; and Seleucus within seven months after he had defeated and slain Lysimachus.

Euridicé and Berenicé, wives of Ptolemy Soter.

The first Ptolemy had now governed Egypt thirty-six years with equal felicity and glory. In the dawn of his fortune he had married Euridicé daughter to Antipater, who for several years was acknowledged for his only lawful wife: but at length he also espoused her kinswoman Berenicé, a Macedonian widow of great beauty and accomplishments[37], who had accompanied[38] Euridicé to Egypt, and by whom Ptolemy already had children. The fruits of his first marriage were a prince named Ptolemy *Keraunus*, and a daughter Lysandra, who had been early married to Agathocles the son of Lysimachus. His second wife Berenicé had borne Ptolemy *Philadelphus*, (I anticipate these epithets of distinction,) and Arsinoé, whom, as before mentioned, Lysimachus had espoused in his old age, after ungratefully repudiating the virtuous and accomplished Amastris.[39] Having attained his eightieth year, the King of Egypt, with that prudent foresight which marked all the important transactions of his reign, determined not only to appoint a successor, but to associate him in his own life-time to the government, and thereby securely to establish his authority. The bold sanguinary character of

The son of Berenicé raised to the throne in his father's lifetime.

[37] Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

[38] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Pausanias, Attic. c. 7.

[39] Memnon apud Phot. p. 716.

Keraunus rendered him an unfit partner in power; but the milder[40] virtues of Philadelphus were heightened in Ptolemy's esteem by the winning blandishments of his mother Berenicé.[41] The prudence also and capacity of Philadelphus promised an administration at once equitable and vigorous, and a successor likely to complete those extensive yet solid plans which his father had so steadily pursued for the improvement of his kingdom. Moved by such considerations, Ptolemy adorned Philadelphus with the robe of royalty and diadem: shewed him as their sovereign to the people and army; and to confirm their allegiance by example as well as precept, is said to have officiated next day as one of his son's attendants, observing that it was less glorious to reign than to be father to a king.[42] The ceremony of enthroning Philadelphus was celebrated with all convenient speed, by a festival uniting the elegance of Grecian games, with the magnificence of Roman triumphs[43]; and which, as it surpassed both those splendid exhibitions in their respective excellences, will hereafter be examined among other monuments of the arts, commerce, and prosperity of Egypt under its Grecian masters. The old king lived two years after the coronation of his son; and it is pleasing to remark that the dutiful behaviour of Philadelphus afforded him daily reason for approving that generous measure.

[40] Pausanias, l. i. c. 6.
[41] Id. ibid.
[42] Justin, l. xvi. c. 2.
[43] Athenæus, l. v. p. 196. et seq.

CHAP. VIII.

His brother Keraunus leaves the kingdom in disgust.

The discerning preference, shewn to a younger brother, drove the haughty Keraunus from a country where every object wounded his pride and envenomed his envy. His sister Lysandra, being the wife of Agathocles son to Lysimachus, the court of this prince was chosen for his angry retreat. Lysimachus had already quarrelled with Pyrrhus, his coadjutor in the conquest of Macedon, and having easily divested him of his share in their common spoil, had added that entire kingdom to his own dominions in Thrace and the Lesser Asia. Through the whole of those extensive countries, the fame of the brave, yet mild Agathocles, illustrated and upheld the stern government of his father. But Arsinoé, the Egyptian wife of Lysimachus, inherited only the personal charms of her mother Berenicé, while her mind was deformed by the blackest passions. She had given children to Lysimachus, but her heart consumed in a forbidden flame for his son Agathocles. Her incestuous advances were rejected by the young prince; and this insult to despised beauty, was exasperated by the consideration that her contemner and his offspring intercepted her own children from the throne. Through the cruel artifices of his stepmother, Agathocles was brought into unjust suspicion with his father; imprisoned, and murdered.[44] The public astonishment at this atrocious deed, was surpassed only by the indignation or terror which it universally excited.

Tragedy in the family of Lysimachus occasioned by his marriage with Arsinoé.

Murder of his son Agathocles —

[44] Conf. Pausan. l. i. c. 10. & Justin, l. xvii. c. 1.

CHAP. VIII.

Keraunus, with his sister Lysandra and her children, fled to Seleucus, then in his Assyrian capital. They were accompanied or followed by many illustrious Macedonians, who joined with them in soliciting the protection of that great prince, against a relentless tyrant exasperated by a female fury. [45]

whose friends fly to Seleucus. Olymp. cxxiv. 2. B.C. 285.

Three reasons concurred in persuading Seleucus to make the cause of the suppliants his own. The jealousy of power and neighbourhood rendered Lysimachus his most formidable enemy. Besides the Asiatic peninsula, enlivened and invigorated by such a large admixture of Grecian colonization, that prince commanded the countries in Europe long pre-eminent in policy or in prowess. Seleucus considered him as the great western power; he compared the Thracians, the Macedonians, and the Greeks who had long followed the standard of Macedon, with the Egyptians governed by Ptolemy, and the Assyrians or Syrians governed by himself; nations once great, but which, through the long domination of barbarous masters, had lost their ancient energies. He knew the subjects of Lysimachus; he knew his own; and determined to avail himself of the discontents among the former, and to prevent them, ere it was too late, from invading and conquering the latter.

Reasons which determined Seleucus to espouse their cause.

In this resolution he was confirmed by applications from many governors in Lesser Asia, who having themselves witnessed the gallantry

Applications to him from governors in Lesser Asia.

[45] Conf. Pausan. l. i. c. 10. & Justin. l. xvii. c. 1.

31935

CHAP. VIII.

and generosity of Agathocles, were, from concern for the loss of that prince, desirous to shake off their allegiance to his inhuman murderer. In the number of these governors, the most conspicuous was Philetærus, a native of Tyana in Cappadocia, who, through the friendship of Agathocles, had been appointed keeper in the castle of Pergamus. This fortress stood at the back of the Æolian coast in the inland district of Mysia, rising on an abrupt mountain of a conical form, surrounded by strong walls, and commanding the adjacent territory. It had been chosen as a proper place by Lysimachus for depositing his superfluous treasures, accumulated by rapacity, preserved with anxious parsimony, and which were committed to the severe custody, as it seemed, of Philetærus an eunuch[46], such persons being usually employed as treasurers, from the opinion that anciently prevailed of their vigilance and fidelity.[47] Philetærus however was an eunuch, whose mind it had been impossible to emasculate. On the news of Agathocles's murder he was filled with resentment; and to accelerate its gratification wrote immediately to Seleucus, that should he march towards Lower Asia, he would find the castle of Pergamus at his disposal. He was

Philetærus of Pergamus.

[46] Strabo, l. viii. p. 623. et seq. Pausan. l. i. c. 10.

[47] Xenoph. de Cyri Instit. l. vii. p. 196. & Plutarch in Demet. Philetærus's medals, distinguished by a serpent on the reverse, have been supposed symbolical of vigilance; but those who honoured him with medals would not allude to his humble condition of treasurer under Lysimachus: the serpent is borrowed from the legend concerning the colonization of Pergamus, by Æsculapius.

faithful to his promise; though the tragical events that followed, and that will be related presently, enabled Philetærus to retain the fortress in his own hands, and by means of its impregnable strength and the vast treasures contained in it, to lay the foundation of the Pergamenian kingdom.[48]

Seleucus's predilection for Macedon and the West.

The third cause that urged Seleucus to march towards the Grecian sea, originated in a far more amiable source than the jealousy of power, or the desire of vengeance. He had now passed his seventy-seventh year; and since the time that in early youth he crossed the Hellespont with Alexander, had spent fifty-three years in Asia, without once revisiting his native land. In the zenith of his greatness, the breast of this prosperous prince swelled at the thoughts of again surveying the innocent and humble scenes of his youth; of recognizing the happy familiarity of his cherished national manners; and of sharing his boundless fortunes with his dear hereditary friends. With the patriotism of a Greek, or the warlike pride of a Macedonian, he turned with a sort of virtuous disdain from the wealth and pomp of the East, and looked wishfully towards the coast of Asia Minor, and the countries beyond the Ægean sea.

Story of his son Antiochus and wife Stratonicé.

This strong predilection in favour of the West, had been already marked and attested by a very singular transaction. Shortly after his great victory at Ipsus, he married, as we have

[48] Strabo, l. viii. p. 623. et seq. Pausan. l. i. c. 10.

CHAP. VIII.

seen, the young and beautiful Stratonicé, whose grandfather, Antigonus, had been his contemporary, his friend, his rival, and finally his victim. This second marriage, which gave to Seleucus a son, whose name has escaped notice in history, threatened to prove fatal, but in a very unusual manner, to his blooming heir Antiochus, whose virtues had long been the fondest delight of his father. Amidst all their crimes and cruelties, the Macedonian kings of the East were unusually happy in the interchange of parental affection and filial duty. These sentiments were conspicuous in Antigonus and Demetrius; in the two Ptolemies; above all, in Seleucus and his son Antiochus[49]; and, on the part of the elder princes, the instinct of nature appears to have acquired the strength and steadiness of a ruling passion, through the fond prospect of transmitting to a distant posterity their new and powerful monarchies. A year had scarcely elapsed from the marriage of Seleucus and Stratonicé, when his son Antiochus was seized with a pining malady, so various in its symptoms, that it baffled description. Under this singular disorder, he was attended by Erasistratus of Alexandria, of whose labours in science we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. This physician, remarking that the prince's condition was not altered on the approach of other visitants of either sex, but that when his step-mother Stratonicé entered his

[49] Plutarch in Demet.

apartment, the vital motions, which seemed ready to cease, began immediately to resume fresh vigour, concluded that his disease was seated in the mind, that love was its cause; and that Stratonicé, his mother-in-law, was the concealed object of his passion. Satisfied with this indication, Erasistratus communicated his discovery to Seleucus with that characteristic freedom, which Greek citizens maintained in their intercourse with the greatest potentates. He told the Syrian king, that his son's case was indeed deplorable; "He pines with incurable love for a woman belonging to another, and whom no consideration whatever can induce her husband to resign; I speak with certainty, for she is my own wife."[50]

Stratonicé married to Antiochus, who is sent to govern the East. Olymp. cxxi. 4. B. C. 293.

An eastern despot would have taken off the head of Erasistratus: an European monarch would blush to desire the most humble of his subjects to cede to an amorous youth the chosen partner of his life. But among the immediate successors of Alexander, though a few bold intriguing females obtained extraordinary influence in public affairs, yet the natural equality of the sexes was very imperfectly upheld, polygamy and the freedom of divorce having destroyed the whole sanctity of marriage, from which alone women derive their real dignity. Seleucus, therefore, while he feared to command, was not ashamed to entreat Erasistratus to

[50] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 59. et seq. Plutarch in Demet. Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7. & Galen, Prognost.

CHAP. VIII.

transfer his wife to Antiochus, whose vehemence of passion merited commiseration through the virtuous efforts which he made to suppress or conceal it. The physician desired the king to make the case his own, and seriously to reflect, whether to save the life of his son, he would be willing to resign to him his stepmother Stratonicé. "Would to heaven," Seleucus answered, "my compliance in this particular could avail." "Then you are yourself," said Erasistratus, "the physician that must cure him." This triumph over love, though he was then in his sixty-eighth year, was celebrated by Greek writers as the most glorious of Seleucus's victories. Having assembled the Macedonians in Antioch and its neighbourhood, he announced to them the important change in the state of his family, and the powerful motives which had produced it. After expatiating on those exploits of his life, in which he had endeavoured to imitate his immortal master, he concluded by telling them, that being now advanced in life, he wished to alleviate the burthen of too extensive a monarchy. "With whom, then, can I so properly divide its glory and its cares, as with persons the most dear to me and yourselves, Antiochus and Stratonicé; whose virtues you well know, and whose mutual affection and befitting years promise to add many new props to the empire. With a part of you, I purpose to send this son of experienced worth to govern the East, recommending to your observance not the barbarous institutions of van-

quished Asia, yet this general rule, that you revere the commands of your sovereign as the dictates of wisdom and justice." The army listened with respect, and answered with acclamation: hailing Seleucus as the greatest of kings, next to Alexander, and the best of fathers.[51]

Seleucus's political views in this measure.

Such is the general account of this transaction, delivered down from antiquity; yet, in the mutilated and meagre narrative, a hint[52] is dropped indicating that Seleucus, in sending his son to the banks of the Tigris, had a more important object in view than that hitherto ascribed to him. A prince whose loftiness of mind was equalled by his sagacity, had discerned those local causes above-described[53], which opposed the consolidation of Syria and Assyria into one great monarchy. He saw, on the other hand, as will evidently appear from his conduct, that his favourite province of Syria was well calculated for being joined with the peninsula of Asia, because it might easily be preserved by the same controlling army. While Antiochus and his descendants reigned over the East, it was the purpose of Seleucus to form the countries west of the Euphrates into an establishment for the younger branch of his family. His design was indeed frustrated by the suddenness of his death, when there was little reason to apprehend such an event: but the wisdom of his

[51] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 59. et seq. Plutarch in Demet. Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7. & Galen. Prognost.

[52] Εθελω διελειν το μεγεθος εις την υμετεραν αμεριμνιαν. Appian, ubi supra.

[53] See above, sect. ii.

CHAP. VIII.

plan is justified by the experience of all ages. Of the innumerable dynasties bearing sway in Asia, before and after the house of Seleucus, none will be found durable that united the dominions on both sides the Euphrates. It should seem, therefore, that sound policy concurred with the other motives above-mentioned, in turning his arms westward, and directing them against the odious Lysimachus.

Seleucus invades Lesser Asia, defeats and slays Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedion. Olymp. cxxiv. 4. B. C. 281.

Through the arrangements previously made with his partisans in Lesser Asia, Seleucus had little difficulty in overrunning the whole of that peninsula. Most of the fortified cities surrendered at the first summons. Sardes, the capital of Lydia, and a few other places, made a feeble and short resistance.[54] The conquest was so rapid, that Lysimachus, who, upon the first news of hostilities, hastened to repel them, found the enemy already advanced into Hellespontian Phrygia. In that province, an obscure place called Corupedion[55], was the memorable scene of the last combat among Alexander's companions. Having performed the duty of able generals, the kings of Thrace and Syria, both on the verge of the grave, but both measuring life only by extent of empire, had recourse to their swords and lances, fighting as if the success of the day had depended on the exertions of their respective prowess.[56] Fortune favoured

[54] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 9.

[55] Κόρπεδιον, altogether different from the κυρσατροπεδον of Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 4.

[56] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 62. Memnon apud Phot. c. ix. p. 714. Pausanias, l. i. c. 10. Justin, l. xvii. c. 1.

CHAP. VIII.

the worthier champion: Lysimachus fell; his troops were totally destroyed, dispersed, or captured; and their disasters so dreadful that no request was made for leave to bury their slain. Alexander, son to Lysimachus, by a barbarous Odrysian, at length applied to Lysandra, widow of his brother Agathocles, to intercede with Seleucus for permission to inter the body of his vanquished rival. It had been preserved, and was now discovered through the fidelity of a favourite dog, which had continued many days watching the remains of his master, and fiercely defending them, it is said, against vultures and wild beasts.[57] They were conveyed by the dutiful Alexander to Lysimachia; whose citizens erected, in honour of their king and patron, a pompous mausoleum visited and described by Pausanias in the second century.[58]

Lysimachus's body, how preserved and recognized.

Thus perished Lysimachus; a severe master, an unfeeling husband, a cruel father, a fierce and relentless enemy; and who, to obtain his ends, could stoop from stern haughtiness to the meanest baseness.[59] In abilities for war he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, as appeared most conspicuously in his celebrated campaign in Lesser Asia, where with inferior force he long opposed Antigonus. His admiration for Alexander was common to him with all those capable of appreciating military merit. Of this, an ex-

His character.

[57] Appian, Syriac. c. 64. [58] Pausanias, l. i. c. 10.

[59] Witness his forged letters to Pyrrhus, and the bribe offered to Seleucus to tempt him to the murder of Demetrius. Plutarch in Pyrrho, et Demet.

CHAP. VIII.

ample remained in the town built by Antigonus in the neighbourhood of ancient Troy, of which Lysimachus, after defeating that prince, changed the name from Antigonia to Alexandria.[60] This Alexandria Troas soon became a city of note; and continued such in the time of Strabo the geographer, under the form of a Roman colony. Lysimachus had perpetuated the honours, or rather worship of his own name, by a seaport judiciously situate at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. He was less fortunate in his attempt to immortalize the profligate Arsinoé, whose artifices, working on his own furious passions, had occasioned his ruin. The Ephesians were commanded to leave the revered precincts of their temple, and to occupy a new city under the sacred patronage of Arsinoé. They remonstrated against this absurd proposal, and delayed to comply with it, until Lysimachus choaked up the canals or rather sewers perforating their streets, and laid their houses under water.[61] Thus, cruelly driven from their homes, they occupied the new mansions prepared for them; but the illustrious name of Ephesus revived, and finally prevailed.

His new cities.

Ptolemy Soter having died in the year before the battle of Corupedion, fatal to Lysimachus, Seleucus now remained alone of all the Macedonian captains, fellow-soldiers, and friends of Alexander. The proud title of Nicator, which he had assumed on the first dawn of his great-

Seleucus's fond hopes.

[60] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 593.

[61] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640.

ness, appeared to be fully justified by the event. He superstitiously regarded himself as the peculiar favourite of heaven, which, his flatterers encouraged him to believe, still kept in reserve for him some more extraordinary prosperity.[62] But how blind are the hopes of man! Seleucus was doomed speedily to fall by treason as sudden as its author was unsuspected.

He is murdered by Ptolemy Keraunus Olymp. cxxvi. B. C. 280.

His desire of revisiting Macedon, and reigning in a country where he had first drawn breath, and spent the innocent years of his humble youth, made him in haste to dispatch his affairs in Lesser Asia and cross the Hellespont. Among other generals and friends he was accompanied[63] by Ptolemy Keraunus, the expatriated prince of Egypt, bound to him by the strongest ties, and who, through Seleucus alone, now victorious in every part of the empire, might expect to be reinstated in his birth-right. But Keraunus by his mother Euridicé was the grandson of Antipater, successively minister, viceroy, and protector in Macedon; and whose memory was still revered in that country. Ptolemy Soter, though reputed to be the son of Lagus, was well known to spring from king Philip; and of this Ptolemy Soter, Keraunus was the eldest

The assassin's motives.

[62] This was confirmed by a romantic story told of his mother Laodicé, wife to one of Philip's generals named Antiochus. She dreamt that she had an amour with Apollo, who presented her with a ring, the gem of which was impressed with an anchor. The ring was found in her bed; and to commemorate her son's divine origin, the anchor is impressed on his medals. Conf. Appian, Justin, Ausonius, and Spanheim de Usu et Præstan. Numism. p. 406.

[63] Pausanias, l. i. c. 16.

CHAP. VIII.

son. The near chance of obtaining the kingdom of Macedon by the murder of his benefactor, appeared to this traitor preferable to the distant hope of making good his claim to Egypt. As Seleucus proceeded to Lysimachia, the capital of his late rival, he was struck with the appearance of an altar of uncommon magnitude, erected in a place called Argos, and said to be the work of the Argonauts. While he curiously examined this remain of antiquity, and was the more inquisitive, it is said, about its name and origin, because an oracle had warned him to beware of Argos[64], Keraunus stepped behind his back, and stabbed him to the heart. The murderer hastened to Lysimachia, announcing himself to its inhabitants and garrison as the avenger of Lysimachus the founder and patron of their city. Through the assistance of some Lysimachians, privy to his design, he easily gained a place of all others the most hostile to Seleucus. Under an escort of its citizens, he ventured to appear before the Asiatic army, now in much doubt and disorder, and reconciled himself with this mercenary body of men by dividing with it the treasures of its late general.[65] By such acts of successful villany, Keraunus acquired the kingdom of Macedon; and cruelly deformed it, for the space of three years, till the more desolating invasion of the

[64] Appian, Syriac. c. 65.

[65] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 63. Memnon apud Phot. p. 714. Pausanias, l. i. c. 16. and Justin, l. xvii. c. 2.

Gauls, of whom this murderous usurper was the first victim. CHAP. VIII.

Character of Seleucus.

Thus perished by treason Seleucus, who, from the condition of a private Macedonian, had risen through a long course of strenuous exertion, to the sovereignty of a mighty empire. Had he lived a few years longer, his conquests would have devolved to his posterity in two great divisions; the countries between the Euphrates and Indus, over which he had already established the government of Antiochus and Stratonicé;* and the less extensive, indeed, but equally valuable possessions between the Euphrates and Danube, which he purposed to retain in his own hands, until he could transfer them with safety to the younger branch of his family. The first division coincides with what is called the Persian empire in modern times; the second embraces, if we except Egypt, nearly the whole extent of the Turkish dominion. Seleucus aspired not, like his master, to unite and harmonize the intire commercial world: he relinquished the maritime establishments in the central province of Babylonia, so essential to that great purpose. Yet he prosecuted the design transmitted to him of exploring the Caspian: before his demise, he is said to have made preparations for joining this sea with the Euxine: he encouraged the Indian commerce by this northern route; which will appear to have continued an object of attention with several of his successors.[66] The general strain

[66] Plin. N. H. ii. 24. vi. 2.

CHAP. VIII.

of his actions confirms his character in history, as an indefatigable[67] and just prince, a firm friend, an affectionate father, an indulgent master; who gained the love of his eastern subjects by governing them according to their established principles and habits; and who, among all contemporary sovereigns, was pre-eminent in consistent greatness of conduct, flowing from true royalty of soul.[68] His remains being purchased by his friend Philetærus, governor of Pergamus, from the avarice of his execrable assassin, were transmitted to his son Antiochus; and by him interred in Seleucia on the Orontes; in which city a magnificent temple, called the Nicatorion, was dedicated to his name and worship. Seleucus built many new cities, of which, however, far the greater part was raised through the superstitious[69] motive of procuring heroic honours for his shade; many were peopled through the ruin of places in their neighbourhood, whose sites were equally convenient; and only a very few were erected in conformity with those great military and commercial views, by which, in this particular, his master had uniformly been guided. After recovering Babylonia, and several years before the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus built his new

His new cities.

[67] He used to say, that did men consider the toils and anxieties of government, nay, merely the perpetual fatigue of reading and writing letters, they would cease to envy the condition of kings. Plutarch, An Seni sit gerend. Resp. p. 790.

[68] Την γνωμην βασιλικωτατην. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 22

[69] Diodor. l. xx. s. 102.

CHAP. VIII.

capital on the western bank of the Tigris, forty miles north of Babylon. In a country destitute of wood and stone, whose edifices were hastily erected with bricks baked in the sun, and cemented with the native bitumen, Seleucia-Babylonia speedily eclipsed the ancient capital of the East.[70] In consequence of inundations of the Euphrates, and neglect, old Babylon gradually sunk into meanness and obscurity, whereas Seleucia soon boasted great populousness and splendour; advantages which it permanently held as the seat of Syrian, Parthian, and Persian kings, till sacked by the Saracens six hundred and thirty-seven years after Christ; and in little more than a century afterwards finally supplanted by Bagdad under the Caliph Almanzor.

Seleucia-Babylonia.

As Seleucus had commemorated his conquests in Assyria by the new Babylon called after himself, so his acquisitions in Lower Asia gained by the battle of Ipsus, were immortalized by the foundation of Antiochia, Antiochus being the name both of his revered father, and of his beloved son. This royal seat must have been in part finished shortly after that decisive victory, since Seleucus already resided in it when he espoused Stratonicé. It rose on the banks of the Orontes so near to Antigonia, that the ruins of the one served for materials of the other. The appellation of Antioch was given

New cities in Syria.

[70] Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 48. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 511. Plin. l. vi. c. 26 and Plutarch in Lucull.

CHAP. VIII.

by Seleucus to sixteen other cities scattered over his vast dominions; his own name was illustrated by nine Seleucias; that of his mother by five Laodiceas; and the names of his two wives were honoured by three Apameas and one Stratonicea[71]; forming in all thirty-five cities of note, named after himself or his dearest relatives. Many foundations of less account realized favourite scenes in Greece or Macedon; others revived the memory of some illustrious exploit; and not a few bore the glorious name of Alexander, whose image was seldom absent from the minds of his followers. Of all these new cities, next to Seleucia on the Tigris,

Antioch.

Antioch on the Orontes continued to be the most considerable both in rank and populousness, being successively the seat of Syrian kings, of Roman governors, and of Christian bishops. It was distant about twelve miles from the sea, and in the midst of a rich plain fourteen miles long and six broad. The warmth of the climate was refreshed by the vicinity of mountains, abounding in vines. Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes, a convenient haven with deep water, was its harbour; the irriguous vale of Daphné, consecrated to the divine children of Latona, formed its delightful umbrageous

[71] Seleucus's new cities are enumerated by Appian, de Reb. Syr. c. 57. They have been erroneously augmented from thirty-five to thirty-nine by mistaking the sentence τεσσαρας επι ταις γυναιξι· τρεις Απημειας και Στρατονικειαν μιαν. "He named four cities in honour of his wives; three Apameas, and one Stratonicea." The latter clause is only explanatory of the former.

suburb.[72] This capital of Syria has been supplanted in modern times by Aleppo, about sixty miles from the sea, and nearly an equal distance in a south-eastern direction from Antioch. Whoever examines the two situations, in point of fertility of soil, salubrity of air, and facility of communications by sea and land; whoever compares the diminutive Chalus, or Kou, scantily refreshing Aleppo, with the noble windings of the Orontes[73], will perceive the immense difference between the Greeks and Saracens, as in all other respects, so in the choice of happy sites for their cities.

Next to Seleucus, the first Ptolemy of Egypt, who died nearly two years before him, was the most successful and most potent of the Macedonian captains. Ptolemy's kingdom was less extensive, and his renown, in the eastern world, less illustrious; but his fame with posterity gathered new strength through the more permanent effects of his reign, and the nearer neighbourhood of his dominions, to those warlike nations of the west, which were to become the appreciators of merit, and the dispensers of glory. Like Augustus, the founder of the imperial system at Rome, Ptolemy, the founder of the Greek dynasty, in Egypt, exhibited, in different periods of his life, a wide diversity of

Policy of Ptolemy Soter from the battle of Ipsus to his death.

[72] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750. and the orator of Antioch quoted in the note, agreeing with the modern descriptions in Maundrel and Pocock.

[73] See Mr. Brown's Travels, and particularly his account of Antakie, Antioch: and Swadea, Seleucia.

CHAP. XVIII.

Olymp. cxix. 4.—cxxiv. 2. B. C. 301—283.

character. While his fortune was yet insecure, he was little scrupulous about the means of establishing it; but when the event of the battle of Ipsus had confirmed him in the sovereignty of Egypt, Cyrené, and Cœlè-Syria, the happiness of his subjects seemed to be the main object of his pursuit; and this generous end he attained by the mildness yet vigilance of his government, by his zealous encouragement of domestic industry and foreign intercourse, and by his wise policy in securing for Egypt those appendages, and those only, which were essential to her best interests. Towards procuring instruments the fittest to second his purposes, the perturbed state of neighbouring countries eminently contributed. The unceasing wars in Lesser Asia, the bloody revolutions in Macedon, and the miserable disorders which infested both the continent and the islands of Greece, suspended, in some measure, the coarse and necessary labours of man, and threatened totally to ruin all taste and refinement. To fugitives of every description, but especially to the learned, Egypt offered a secure asylum; and thus, by a signal felicity, did that kingdom, which was famed as the mother of arts and sciences, receive back into her hospitable bosom her full grown, highly improved, but now persecuted children. With regard to this interesting subject, which forms the characteristic glory of Ptolemy's reign, it is yet possible to enter into a pretty satisfactory detail; and to explain by what means Alexandria first acquired

CHAP. VIII.

that pre-eminent station in the world, which it maintained, in matters of science, for eight, and in matters of commerce, for eighteen centuries.

Establishment of the Alexandrian library at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus.

At the head of the men of letters, who sought the protection of Ptolemy, it is fit to place Demetrius Phalereus, because to him very peculiar benefits are ascribed. Having governed Athens with singular ability for the space of ten years, this illustrious statesman had been obliged to retire first to Bœotian Thebes, (from whence he was soon driven by the increasing troubles of Greece), and afterwards to Alexandria in Egypt.[74] Ptolemy received him with his usual courtesy; and speedily discerning his merit, associated him to his council of legislation; some historians say, even placed him at its head.[75] Demetrius had been the scholar of Theophrastus; and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle; both which philosophers had formed great libraries. At the suggestion of Demetrius, Ptolemy[76] determined to execute the same design on a far larger scale. The books which an extensive intercourse with foreign nations brought into his country, were either purchased or transcribed[77]: his emissaries were busy in the temples, the fairs, and markets of Greece and Lesser Asia; and though we know not the accumulation of learning made by him-

[74] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45. [75] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iii. c. 17.
[76] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 2. et cont. Apion, l. ii.
[77] Galen, Commentar. in Hippocrat. de Morb. Vulgar.

CHAP. VIII.

self personally, he founded a library, which, under his last Greek successors, amounted to 700,000 volumes[78], deposited in two different temples, in different quarters of the city.[79] The word volume, however, conveys on this occasion, too magnificent an idea; for, in writings of any considerable extent among the ancients, each book, and sometimes each chapter or section, was rolled into a separate volume.[80]

Museum.—Peculiar nature of that institution.

The establishment of the Alexandrian library was accompanied by an institution still more memorable, because then single in its kind. In various cities of Greece, there were temples in honour of the Muses, thence called *Museia*, where these beneficent daughters of Memory, were worshipped by hymns and sacrifices.[81] But the museum raised by Ptolemy, bore a peculiar reference to the intellectual character of those goddesses; and was dedicated chiefly to the advancement of science, to the culture of taste, and to improvement in all those liberal studies, from which the civilised portion of mankind derive their best helps in business, and more than half their enjoyments in leisure. Not priests, but scholars of various denominations were its inhabitants, who, being admitted into it through

[78] Epiphan. de Ponder. et Mensur. Tertullian, Apologet. c. 18. Agellius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

[79] Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. & Epiphan. ubi supra.

[80] Ovid's Metamorphoses consisted of fifteen volumes; meaning thereby fifteen books. Athenæus says, that the grammarian Didymus, who lived at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæsar, composed 3500 volumes; Seneca says, 4000 volumes; and Origen, 6000.

[81] Strabo, l. ix. p. 410. Conf. Aristot. Rhetoric. l. iii. c. 3.

the approved merit of their labours, subsisted by the king's bounty at common tables, where men of different pursuits, but congenial minds, enjoyed mutual opportunities for enlarging their information, or sharpening their faculties.[82] Under the latter Ptolemies, the museum, indeed, had a priest for its president[83], in compliance with the customs of the Egyptians, among whom all offices of dignity were confined, as we have seen, to the sacerdotal cast. But it appears not that either the founder of the institution, or his immediate successors, respected in this particular the usages of their subjects: and it should seem that the museum is the first establishment in history destined to the promotion of learning and science, independently of state policy and the popular superstition which upheld it.

Demetrius Phalereus its first librarian.

Accordingly, whoever enjoyed the office of president, that of librarian was certainly considered as the more important, and probably also as the more honourable. By a numerous list of authorities[84], the care of the library is said to have been first committed to Demetrius Phalereus, at whose suggestion it was collected. But the silence of other authors[85] on this subject has left room for the objection, that such an em-

[82] Conf. Plut. advers. Colott. p. 1095. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. Μουσειον ην τραπεζα Αιγυπτια συνκαλεσα τους εν τη γη ελλογιμους. "The museum was a common table in Egypt, to which the learned luminaries of the whole world were invited." Philostratus.

[83] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794.

[84] Josephus, Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, &c.

[85] Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

ployment was inconsistent with Demetrius's more important political functions in Egypt, and unsuitable to the high office which he had long borne in Athens. But the comparative honour of offices is, in different ages, very differently appreciated. Rarity is often a source of dignity. Few great libraries had yet been formed. The museum of Alexandria stood single in the world. Demetrius prized his fame as a scholar far above his transient power as a statesman; and the political functions which he exercised in Egypt did not hinder him from composing in that country many treatises, not merely characterised by flowing elegance and Attic sweetness of style[86], but by the weight and value of their matter; by acuteness in research, solidity of sense, and variety of learning.

Succeeded by Zenodotus of Ephesus.

The superintendence of the library could not however have been held long by this illustrious Athenian; since Zenodotus of Ephesus is noticed as librarian under Ptolemy Soter[87], and continued in that situation during the whole of the long reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Zenodotus had succeeded the elegiac poet Philetas as preceptor to the latter of these princes. He was celebrated as a poet; and still more as a critic.[88] By some authors he is said ignorantly, to have been the first emendator of Homer. His edition of the venerable bard was indeed in high estimation in his own times, and is often quoted by Eustathius at the distance of fifteen centuries.

[86] Cicero de Fin. l. v. 4 passim. [87] Suidas ad Zenodot.
[88] Ælian, V. H. Athenæus and Stobæus.

CHAP. VIII.

His contemporary poets.

Besides Philetas and Zenodotus the poets just mentioned, court favour was extended to Simmias of Rhodes, and Phinton of Tarentum. The prizes of comedy were won by Philemon, Diphilus, and Posidippus.[89] These poets were conspicuous for the luxuriancy, yet elegance, of their fancy. Philemon has been called a Syracusan, but was really a native of Soli[90] in Cilicia. He lived an hundred and one years, and produced ninety comedies. Though unfairly preferred, in his own time, to Menander, yet, in the judgment of posterity, he was really entitled to the second place.[91] Diphilus was a citizen of Sinopé in Paphlagonia. He wrote an hundred comedies, of which several fragments remain[92], and he is named by Plautus, in the prologue to his Casina, as the original author of that drama. Posidippus was born in Cassandria in Macedon. He began to write for the stage about the time of Menander's death, and may be regarded as closing the series of comic poets, since he is the last whose name is transmitted with praise to posterity. The reigns of the first Ptolemies saw indeed the growth and decay of the middle, or rather the new comedy, in which the pleasantry of general satire was substituted for the acrimony of personal invective. Grammarians, it is true, speak of the old comedy, in which the actors represented individuals with their real names; of the middle, in which the names only

[89] Diphilus Comicus insignis et sententiis affluens. Euseb. Pamphil.
[90] Strabo. [91] Quintilian, l. x.
[92] Hartelius, Veterum Comicorum Græcorum Fragment.

CHAP. VIII.

were fictitious, but the characters real; and of the new, in which both personages and names were the work of fancy. The two first kinds, however, are essentially the same: the third was that cultivated in the time of the Ptolemies. In judging from the fragments that have come down to us[93], the writers of the new comedy abounded in knowledge of life, and in maxims of prudence: they were sometimes moral and pathetic; they lashed vice boldly, and did not even spare superstition. In a fragment quoted by Clemens and by Eusebius, an interlocutor thus addresses Pamphilos, his companion in the scene: "Think not that the gods are pleased with multitudes of victims, with images robed in gold and purple, and ivory bespangled with emeralds. Conciliate their favour by doing all that is good, and by abstaining from all that is evil. Covet not so much as the thread of another's needle; for God is ever present, and his eye is upon thee." In a fragment of Menander's Charioteer, a person addressed for charity, by one carrying a painted figure of the mother of the gods, exclaims, "Away with such mummery! I have no relish for gods that stroll from door to door. Were your goddess good for any thing, she would keep at home, and afford her protection to those only who deserve it by their piety." The general strain of this kind of comedy, however, must be inferred from the translations, or imitations in Plautus and

[93] See the Collections of Hartelius, Grotius, and Le Clerc.

CHAP. VIII.

Terence, and is indicated in a story told of Antiphanes, the most fertile poet in the time of Alexander, since he wrote three hundred and sixty-five comedies; a fecundity rivalled only by Calderon or Lopez de Vega. Antiphanes, who should seem to have had an unhappy facility of composition, read one of his pieces to the king, who did not at all relish it. Not greatly disconcerted, the poet observed ingeniously, "I wonder not, O king! at your dislike of the play. You are unacquainted with the scenes which it exhibits: you know nothing of the vulgar humours of our places of entertainment; of the shameless artifices of our courtezans. You have never been a party in beating up a brothel; an actor or a sufferer in disgraceful frays." This low comedy was perpetuated through the military turbulence that followed the death of Alexander. The *miles gloriosus* appeared in every piece; and, as it has been said of the comedies of Plautus, which were wholly Grecian, the parasite, the lady of pleasure, and the braggadocio captain, were standing stage-characters, from which it is easy to conjecture the design and drift of his[94] plays. Of a more various and far superior cast, were the comedies of Menander, if appreciated by the universal *testimony* of his contemporaries and posterity: for his fragments, among verses of a high moral tendency, contain others that are morose, gloomy, selfish, and acrimonious. He began to write at the age of twenty; and in the

[94] Dryden.

CHAP. VIII.

course of thirty years, produced above an hundred comedies. Of these, not less than eighty were translated by Terence: the Latin poet, indeed, copied all his plays from Menander, except Phormio and Hecyra, which were translated from the Greek of Apollodorus Gelöus, one of about thirty writers for the stage, in the time of Philip and Alexander, of whom short specimens remain. Menander was drowned[94] accidentally in the Piræus, in the fiftieth year of his age, and towards the close of Ptolemy's reign. That great prince bewailed his loss, having often invited him into Egypt, and never relinquished the hope of attracting him to his great capital. Demetrius Phalereus, his companion in the school of Theophrastus, lived there in splendour, and is said to have shared with the poet the emoluments of his high offices under Ptolemy.[95] It appears not, however, that, allured by such munificence, Menander was ever tempted to prefer the court of Alexandria to his unobstructed independence of life and study in Athens.

Impartiality in Ptolemy's protection.

The Phalerean, whom Ptolemy so highly and so justly prised, was a votary to genuine Aristotelism, as taught by its great author; a philosophy not less solid than lofty, adapted to courts and camps, and all the business of active life. Yet the visionaries, Diodorus of Aspendus and other Pythagoreans or Platonicians, as they

[94] To this Ovid alludes in his Ibis:

Comicus ut liquidis periit dum nabat in undis.—

[95] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler.

came afterwards to be called, were hospitably received, and impartially protected.[96] How fanciful soever might be their tenets, from whatever quarter they came, and whatever causes had driven them from their respective countries, all literary strangers were ever welcome to Ptolemy. Many years before the foundation of his museum, Theodorus of Cyrené fled to him from the priests of that dependency, whom this Epicurean had offended by speaking too lightly of the popular superstition. He found a safe asylum in Alexandria, and shared the king's bounty.[97] Hegesias, another Epicurean of Cyrené, was silenced however by the king's orders; his opinions were not only extravagant in theory, but highly pernicious in practice.[98]

Ptolemy catches amusement from their learned folly.

Ptolemy, like his great brother, delighted to relax in literary conversation, and to vary the dull pomp of war and government. From the wisdom of the learned, he doubtless hoped to derive instruction; but was not less eager to catch amusement from their folly. While he listened to the contentious disputants, Diodorus of Iassus, and Stilpo of Megara, the former was so much puzzled by some captious sophisms of the latter, that he requested to have time to answer him. The king facetiously gave him, by a pun, the name of Kronus, (the old deposed

[96] Id. in Pythagor. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 165. and Jamblich, de Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

[97] According to Diogenes Laertius in Aristippo, Ptolemy employed him as an ambassador.

[98] Conf. Cicero, Tusc. quæst. l. i. c. 34. and Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

deity), which afterwards adhered to him.[99] A better witticism, because intelligible in all languages, he directed against Sosibius. This critic indulged in the boldest conjectures; and particularly in the utmost licence of transposition. To punish his temerity, the king desired his stipend to be withheld. The critic complained: Ptolemy affected to disbelieve him: the critic averred his statement to be correct: the king carried him to the treasury; and desiring to see the list of literary pensioners who had received payment, cut off from the first names where they occurred, the syllable So Si Bi Us; which syllables, joined in one word, he handed to *Sosibius*, and by thus paying him in his own coin, reproved his unwarrantable freedom with ancient and venerated texts.[100]

Four new schools established by him.—I. That of critics and commentators.

In the reign of this universal patron, the foundation was laid at Alexandria of four schools altogether distinct from those of the four sects of ancient philosophers. The first was the school of critics and commentators, which begun with Zenodotus above-mentioned, and flourished through Eratosthenes, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus, and Aristodemus, down to the indefatigable Didymus in the Augustan age.

II. That of geometry.

The second school established by Ptolemy Soter was that of mathematicks; a name recently and fitly assigned to those sciences which treat of number or magnitude. Many other

[99] Laertius in Diodor.

[100] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 493.

branches of knowledge are acquired insensibly, and seem to flow, as it were spontaneously, into the mind: but the sciences respecting quantity, can be derived only from careful instruction or close study. We perceive every step of our progress; and few important steps are made without eager application and contentious effort. In many men, poetry and eloquence appear like gifts of nature; and all men are in some degree qualified to feel their effects, and to appreciate their merit. But of the labours of mathematicians, themselves only are the judges; and he sees nothing in a theorem, who does not perceive distinctly the whole truth that it contains. This firm and elevated science had made great progress in the Platonic academy at Athens. Plato himself was a proficient in it: if he did not invent, he was the great cultivator of geometrical analysis; which, by taking for granted the proposition to be examined, resolves it into its parts, and pursues them through their consequences, until arriving at something manifestly true, or manifestly false, the enquirer is enabled on sure grounds to determine whether the proposed theorem be true, or the proposed problem be practicable. In this manner Plato reasons through many of his dialogues. Persons ignorant of geometry, were debarred from his school; this accurate and pure science being deemed an essential preparation for attainments still more lofty; for mounting into the region of ideas, and expatiating there, in the bright and bound-

CHAP. VIII.

less fields of universal truth.[101] Innumerable were his disciples who thus united geometry with a very fanciful philosophy; and many also were those who dedicated themselves chiefly or solely to the former science. Among the latter, the most celebrated were Neocles, author of several geometric theorems; Leon, who wrote an approved treatise of Elements; the brothers Menechmus and Dinostratus; and, last of all, the well known Euclid, who may be regarded perhaps without impropriety, as founder of the geometrical school of Alexandria.[102] Though he had extended the science by many great discoveries[103], Euclid disdained not to write a new book of Elements: so close, yet clear in its texture, that every attempt to supersede it, has only served to evince its incomparable superiority. Euclid was fully sensible of its excellence: when asked by Ptolemy for a less operose and shorter treatise, he replied dryly, "there is not any royal road[104] to geometry." The famous demand of the Delian oracle, to double his cubical altar[105], gave occasion to a long series of

[101] Proclus in Euclid, passim.

[102] Pappus, Collect. Math. l. vii. in Proœm. Theophrastus and Eudemus, both of them scholars of Aristotle, wrote the History of Mathematics; from which lost works, Diogenes Laertius, Proclus, Pappus, and Theo, all three Alexandrians, collected the few particulars handed down to us.

[103] Pappus gives an account of Euclid's three books of Porisms; the highest branch of the ancient geometrical analysis.

[104] Βασιλικον ατραπον. Proclus, Euclid, l. ii. c. 4. The ατραπος was a road for Eastern kings, near their capitals, unembarrassed by the vehicles of ordinary passengers.

[105] Philopon. Commentar. in Analyt. Posterior. Conf. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 12.

geometrical inventions. To solve this problem exactly, two mean proportionals must be found between the magnitudes employed to express the two cubes.[106] This cannot be done by means of any figures drawn by the rule and compass; that is, by the help of plain geometry. The problem therefore produced a fuller examination of the curves already known, and gave birth to many new ones. Menechmus, above-mentioned, made use of the parabola and hyperbola conjunctly: but Apollonius, who holds the middle rank in the Alexandrian school, between Euclid and Archimedes, contented himself with the hyperbola only and the circle. Nicomedes shortly afterwards invented the conchoid, and applied to the solution of the same question, this before unknown curve, which our great Newton found of excellent use in constructing his equations of the 3d and 4th degrees[107]: so admirable is the chain of science, connecting the labours of men the most distant in time and place!

III. That of practical astronomy.

The third school established under this reign at Alexandria, was that of practical astronomy. By the doctrine of concentric spheres, Eudoxus of Cnidus had undertaken to explain the stationary and retrograde motions of the planets.

[106] Nothing is easier than the duplication of the cube to a modern mathematician. He expresses, by number, the cube to be doubled; he doubles that number; and then extracts its cube root, as nearly as he thinks fit. This approximation will answer every practical end. But Delian Apollo was not to be thus easily satisfied. The precise solution, without an "almost or a nearly," was required.

[107] Vid. Arithmetic. Universal.

CHAP. VIII.

He was the author of a work entitled the Mirror of the Heavens [108], and of another containing an Ephemeris or Journal of the rising and setting of the Stars. [109] Autolicus, who succeeded to him, has left treatises on nearly the same subjects, in one of which he establishes the roundness of the earth, the positions of the circles of the sphere, and the phænomena or effects necessarily resulting from these causes. [110] It remained, however, to estimate the distances and magnitudes of the planets; to measure their movements, particularly those of the sun and moon; and to discover rules, according to which the irregularities in these movements might be ascertained and represented with some tolerable degree of precision: all this was accomplished by the astronomical school of Alexandria. Twelve years before the death of Ptolemy Soter, Timocharis and Aristillus began their observations in that capital. [111] They continued them for the space of twenty-six years, and were succeeded in their labours, by Aristarchus of Samos; by the great Hipparchus of Nicæa; and by other astronomers to be noticed in due time, down to Sosigenes of Alexandria, who enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar.

IV. That of anatomy and medicine.

The fourth and last school erected at Alexandria, by Ptolemy Soter, was that of medicine. [112]

[108] Ευοπτρον. [109] Τα φαινομενα.

[110] Lib. Περι κινουμενης σφαιρας. Argentorat. an. 1572.

[111] Ptolemy, Syntax. Magn. l. vi. c. 3.

[112] Cels. in Præfat. Fulgent. Mythолog. l. i. p. 16. Galen, tom. iv. p. 372. Isagog.

Its first teachers were Erasistratus, before-mentioned, and Herophilus, who cultivated, in particular, the anatomy of man and other animals with unwearied assiduity; and whose researches in this line are said to have been promoted by such indulgences from the king, as displayed his love of science, at the expense of his humanity.[113] These distinguished anatomists should seem to have been the first who were allowed to dissect human bodies by public authority. All their writings are lost; but they are continually cited by Galen.

Historians and philosophers in those times.

Of Alexander's immediate successors, many through love for glory performed great actions, and several prosecuted also letters with ardour, because by letters only the memory of great actions can be preserved. Antipater, Eumenes, Marsyas brother to Antigonus; above all, Ptolemy, acquired just praise as historians. Their contemporary, Jerom of Cardia, wrote with much impartiality of the affairs of his own times, comprehending both the first and second generation after the Macedonian hero; for Jerom lived an hundred and four years.[114] Aristobulus, who had accompanied Alexander into Upper Asia, finished at the age of eighty-four his narrative of that expedition; and Timæus, whose general history embraced Italy and Sicily as well as Greece and Syria, died at the court of

[113] Herophilus ille Medicus, aut Lanius, qui sexcentos exsecuit, ut naturam scrutaretur; qui hominem odiit, ut nosset. Tertul. de Anim. c. 10. Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxvi. c. 3.

[114] Lucian in Macrob.

CHAP. VIII.

the second Ptolemy, in his ninety-sixth year.[115] When we consider, indeed, the remarkable longevity of Alexander's captains, and other eminent persons their contemporaries, it should seem as if the period distinguished by peculiar energy, both in action and speculation, had been singularly favoured by the benefits of health and strength; and that the physical powers of men had in some measure kept pace with their strenuous exertions in arts and arms. At this memorable æra, a scene altogether new, opened in those parts of the world, which fall within the sphere of authentic history. About twenty generals disciplined in the school as well as in the camp, usurped their master's conquests, and transmitted the most considerable of them to their descendants under the name of kingdoms. Through respect for attainments, in which many of themselves were eminent, they sought out and promoted the learned of their times to the most important functions of domestic and foreign policy.[116] Demetrius Phalereus was thus employed, first by Cassander in Athens, and then by Ptolemy Soter in Alexandria. The same Cassander sent Evhemerus, of whom we shall speak hereafter, on many important embassies. Xenocrates, who succeeded Plato in the academy, was famed for his strict integrity in public employments[117]; and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle, was

[115] Lucian in Macrob.
[116] Diogen. Laert. passim.
[117] Id. in Xenocrat.

CHAP. VIII.

courted by many of the kings of his times, but preferred to all the advantages with which they tempted him, his school at Athens, of sometimes two thousand pupils, which he continued to superintend to his death, at the age of one hundred and seven years.[118] From this time forward, we shall find in the history of the Greek kings of the East, philosophers of the Epicurean sect, as well as celebrated adherents to the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Portico, adorning the walks of public life, and entrusted with delegated authority under princes, who valued their talents, though they sometimes dreaded their virtues. But neither in a scientific nor literary point of view will such philosophers deserve particular commemoration. None of them are distinguished as the founders of new systems, or the improvers of old ones. Their highest aim was to follow correctly their respective masters, whose works were perpetually in their hands; their study by day, their meditation by night; consulted as the oracles of wisdom, and revered as the standards of excellence.

Improvements of Alexandria as an emporium. Description of that city.

Egypt attained, as we shall see, its meridian of power and glory under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, but there is abundant proof, that in the reign of his father, the best foundations of public prosperity had been laid; that domestic industry and ingenuity flourished, and that the most profitable foreign markets were

[118] St. Hieronym. in Epistol. ad Nepotian.

CHAP. VIII.

frequented. In examining this subject, I shall begin with the great emporium Alexandria, which owed to Ptolemy Soter, the completion of those noble works which long served to support, to defend, and to adorn it. The plan of the whole had been traced by the architect Deinocrates, under the eye, indeed, of Alexander himself; and it redounds to the honour of Ptolemy, that he finished with punctilious accuracy a plan than which none better could have possibly been devised.[119]

The city stood on a low and level coast, beyond the boundaries of the Delta, since nearly ten miles west of the Canopic branch of the Nile. Confined by the sea, and the lake Mareotis, to little than a mile in its dimensions from north to south, it extended above two miles on either hand along the Isthmus; and was therefore compared in form to a Macedonian cassock, short in the body, with long outspreading arms. In opposition to common opinion, Alexander has been shown to have conformed to his preceptor's maxims in the government of kingdoms: he should seem to have paid equal attention to his rules with regard to the building of cities.[120] For the sake of ventilation by the Etesian winds, the streets of Alexandria were straight, spacious, and drawn at right angles to each other.[121] In the middle

[119] Conf. Arrian, l. iii. c. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 10. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 799. et seq.

[120] Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 11. et seq.

[121] The description in Strabo, above cited, applies in part to the

it was perforated by two streets, each above a hundred feet wide, and the longer extending above four miles between the western gate of the city, looking towards the Necropolis, or burying-ground, and the opposite gate on the East, pointing to the ancient Canopus. Both these central streets were adorned with pillars or porticoes: their houses were solid and lofty: at their meeting they formed an open square convenient for the easy intercourse among distant quarters of a capital [122]; which soon contained three hundred thousand persons of free condition, and probably a far greater number of industrious slaves. To supply this vast multitude with fresh water, the houses were provided with subterranean cisterns, into which the Nile regularly flowed at the period of annual inundation; and in which the slimy fluid gradually depositing its impurities, converted itself into a clear and wholesome beverage. [123]

The Pharos and Heptastadium.

Directly opposite to the middle of the city, the little island Pharos rose, at less than a mile's distance in the sea; a spot ennobled by the verses of Homer [124], and on which Alexander had planned a light-house, the first work of its kind, and peculiarly useful on this coast, infested by

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reign of Ptolemy Soter: for Ammianus Marcellinus, l. ii. says, Alexandria non sensim ut aliæ urbes, sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. s. 50.

[123] Strabo observes, that all the streets of Alexandria admitted loaded carriages to pass each other easily; an advantage to be found in few eastern cities in modern times.

[122] Hirtius de Bell. Civil. l. iii. [124] Odyss. l. iv. v. 355.

CHAP. VIII.

rocks and sand-banks. Ptolemy completed the design in all its parts. He joined the island of Pharos to Alexandria, by a mole seven furlongs in length. The tower [125] destined to show mariners their way, stood at the extremity of the island: its materials consisted of white marble: its height was four hundred and fifty feet; each side of its square base, six hundred feet; and its beaming summit is said to have been seen at the distance of one hundred miles. Of this monument, ennobled by its use still more than its magnificence, and which cost Ptolemy in rearing it eight hundred talents, the architect Sostratus of Cnidus endeavoured fraudulently to usurp the whole glory with posterity. By the disloyal vanity of Sostratus, the king's name in the dedication was sculptured on a perishable paste, while his own was deeply engraven below, on the solid stone [126]: base and bootless artifice! the Pharos was not to be left, like the pyramids, to tell its own story; Ptolemy having secured the honour due to his name, by monuments more lasting than brass or marble. The mole joining the city and island, and called from its length the Heptastadium [127], separated the harbours of Alexandria; that towards the east called the

[125] Conf. Strabo, Josephus, Clemens, Alexand. Geograph. Nubiens. & Suidas ad voc. *Φαρος.*

[126] Lucian de Scribend. Histor. Yet Pliny, l. xxii. c. 12. ascribes to Ptolemy's greatness of mind, the insertion of Sostratus's name instead of his own.

[127] The Heptastadium was sometimes called the Bridge, because it contained spacious arches or openings, by means of which, vessels passed from one harbour into the other. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand.

great harbour, and the other westward called Eunostus, that is, the harbour of *safe return*. These two harbours were respectively contiguous to the two principal quarters of the city; the quarter opposite to the great harbour was called Bruchion [128], an abbreviation of the Greek word, denoting "a granary," such magazines being always among the first buildings in places destined to be the seats of kings and garrisons. The western division opposite to the harbour Eunostus, retained its old Egyptian name Rhacotis, the appellation of a warlike tribe of shepherds, anciently posted there against strangers who might venture to land on this long inhospitable shore, but which, by a happy change of manners, was adorned under the Ptolemies, by a monument indicating great commercial prosperity.

Temple of Serapis.

This was the temple of the god Serapis, a divinity whose migration from Sinopé to Alexandria, is among the last recorded events in the reign of Ptolemy Soter. The protection of Serapis was acknowledged by sailors on the Thracian coast of the Propontis: as the patron of maritime traffic, his image was characterised by emblems of plenty and naval trophies; and so ancient was his worship, that Jason is said to have sacrificed on his altar, when he returned from his Colchian expedition. [129] In consequence of the exploits of the Argonauts, and succeeding

[128] Βρουχειον, a corruption from πυρουχειον.

[129] Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 39. and Golzii Numm. Antiq. Artic. Ægialia and Sinopé.

CHAP. VIII.

Greeks who pursued the same paths to renown, the rites of Serapis grew into great celebrity, particularly at Sinopé, the mother and queen of all the Greek colonies on the Euxine.[130] The fame of the god travelled eastward; and we have seen that a temple anciently raised to him in Babylon, was repaired and adorned by Alexander, among other expedients of that politic conqueror for reviving the long-lost navigation of his projected capital. After the enlightened example of a brother, on whom Ptolemy ever cast an eye of reverence, Serapis was conducted with awful solemnity into Egypt, that the blind superstitions directed in that country against a seafaring life might be counteracted by other superstitions of a more useful tendency. The Serapeum, raised to him in Rhacotis, came in process of time to surpass all other temples in magnificence[131]: and that its dedication was attended with events most extraordinary, the historian Tacitus is ready to attest; whose pen has condescended on this occasion, to varnish fictions, exceeding, if possible, in absurdity, the vilest of monkish legends.[132] In that author, so sceptical, and so much idolized by sceptics, we may read the divine mandate for the transportation of Serapis; we may tremble with the relater, at the threatening phantom of the god, first upbraiding Ptolemy for neglect, and after-

[130] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 26.

[131] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. c. 16. He ranks it, however, after the Roman capitol.

[132] Tacitus, Hist. l. iv. c. 84.

wards Scydrothemis, king of Sinopé, for obstinacy; we may lament, with the philosophic mourner, the calamities inflicted on the Sinopians for reluctance in parting with their long venerated guardian: in fine, we may behold the wooden or marble idol, inspired with a living soul, spontaneously embarking in an Egyptian vessel, and sailing with miraculous celerity, in three days, from the harbour of Sinopé into that of Alexandria. CHAP. VIII.

For works of architecture and other arts of design, Ptolemy enjoyed singular advantages in point both of materials and of instruments. His kingdom abounded beyond all other countries, in porphyry, basalts, and the finest marbles. Many of the best artists of Greece preferred Alexandria for their residence [133]; and their unceasing competitions with each other, as well as their great number, gave an activity and amplitude to their labours, which will excite more incredulity than wonder, among those who make the examples before their eyes the sole standards of their opinions. The age of Alexander, indeed, created such multitudes of artists, as never appeared in any other. To instance in a single art and in a single city: scarcely ten years after the premature death of that conqueror, the Athenians erected in one year to Demetrius Phalereus, three hundred and sixty statues, of which one hundred and sixty were of bronze, Flourishing state of the fine arts.

[133] If we believe the story in Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 101. Apelles came there against his will: Ptolemy and this great painter, it seems, had been on bad terms in Alexander's lifetime.

CHAP. VIII.

and of these many in chariots or on horseback![134]

Illustrated in the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

But of the flourishing state of Egypt, with regard to the fine arts, and every kind of productive and commercial industry, a signal illustration appeared in the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, celebrated by Ptolemy Soter two years before his death, when he associated that favourite son to his sovereignty. This solemnity, in which some particulars should seem not to have been hitherto viewed in their proper light, is said to have attracted to Alexandria crowds of strangers from India to Greece; from Colchis and the mountains of Caucasus, to the southern extremity of Ethiopia. The spacious streets of Alexandria were ready to receive them; and to leave room for the processions that constituted the principal part in the exhibition.[135] Innumerable tents and many ornamental edifices were raised for the occasion, among which the pavilion, where the Ptolemies entertained the more illustrious portion of the strangers, has been particularly commemorated. Its pillars were seventy-five feet high, imitating alternately the palm-tree, and the Thyrsus of Bacchus. It was surrounded by a sunk gallery for attendants; and communi-

[134] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. Conf. Plut. Rei Gerend. Præcept. p. 820. The richest people on earth could not now make such a present to their sovereign. Alexander, it must be remembered, had shortly before his death sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to be expended in works of art.

[135] What follows is extracted wholly from Callixenus of Rhodes, preserved in Athenæus, l. v. p. 196—203.

cated with many grottoes or rooms for entertainment. Its middle was overshadowed by a beautiful scarlet canopy; the ground-floor was covered with Babylonian or Persian carpets, exquisitely painted with natural objects, and strewed dispersedly with a rich variety of real flowers, astonishing, in a winter festival, to northern strangers. The vestibule displayed a hundred marble figures of animals, works of great masters, and the most admired paintings of the Sicyonian school. Two eagles of gold crowned the summit of the edifice, each above twenty feet high. The burnished tripods and sculptured vases, the gemmed caskets breathing perfumes, the couches and golden tables for the guests, it would be tedious to describe. The value of the gold only, exceeded two millions sterling.

The procession.

In the procession which ensued, and which lasted from morning till sun-set, the superstition of Greece was recommended to the Egyptians and Asiatics, by whatever can please the fancy or sooth the senses. The image of each divinity, always of a colossal magnitude, was accompanied by his emblems, his altar, and his car of triumph, while the dramatic representation of his attendants, or paintings nearly as impressive, exhibited the labours which he had encountered, and the benefits which he had conferred. The pomp of Bacchus is described circumstantially, and this part may help the imagination to grasp the magnificence of the whole. His car, crowned with vines and ivy,

CHAP. VIII.

was preceded and followed by troops of Sileni and Satyrs, of Boys and Bacchanals. Golden censors diffused precious perfumes. After the image of the god followed that of his nurse Nysa; at first reclined in her chariot, but then rising spontaneously and pouring forth libations of milk. Wine distilled from innumerable sources, particularly two huge vessels, one of silver, the other of panthers' skin, and from the capacious receiver of a moveable wine press drawn by three hundred men, and trodden by sixty satyrs, enlivening their work by the vintage hymn.

This procession was only a prelude to one more extraordinary, in which Bacchus appeared in his character of an eastern conqueror; an idol eighteen feet high, mounted on an elephant, attended by five hundred nymphs in purple tissues, and a proportional number of satyrs completely armed. Twenty elephants[136] adorned the most splendid of Roman triumphs, that of the emperor Aurelian; but twenty-four chariots, each drawn by four of these huge animals, appeared in one scene of this gorgeous procession; in which the Ptolemies had united the rarest objects in nature with the most exquisite productions of art. It is sufficient to mention eight hundred waggons loaded with spices and perfumes; negroes bearing ebony, ivory, and gold; the natives of Hindostan displaying in captivity the elegant clothes and rich jewels of

[136] Vopiscus, Hist. August. p. 220.

their country; birds of various plumage hovering round artificial grottoes; innumerable yokes of fierce panthers and beautiful zebras; white oxen from India, the camelopard and rhinoceros from Ethiopia; glaring lions and savage tigers, with Hyrcanian and Molossian dogs, rivalling in ferocity and strength those tenants of the desert. This variegated spectacle, disposed with regular symmetry or more artful disorder, was occasionally animated by a chorus of six hundred musicians; and what is worthy of remark, the honours of Bacchus terminated with a procession of two thousand Egyptian bulls, representing the god Apis; a circumstance which indicates Ptolemy's tolerant purpose of establishing a sort of community of worship, between his Egyptian and Grecian subjects. The pageant of Bacchus was followed by that of the other divinities. Alexander, alone more godlike than the whole hierarchy, came the last of all. His statue was of pure gold, and his car drawn by elephants of unrivalled magnitude. Pallas and Victory attended their favourite hero.

The sacred games—the presents given and received by the Ptolemies.

The processions were succeeded by the sacred games, which, like the games of Olympia, lasted five days. Vases, talents, and tripods, were distributed by the Ptolemies to the conquerors. But these princes were rewarded in their turn by offerings from their wealthy subjects or strangers; and, by the Grecian deputies, the elder Ptolemy and his queen Berenicé were honoured with presents inestimable to superstí-

CHAP. VIII.

tion or vanity, the assignment of groves and altars within the precincts of the temple of Dodona. The offerings made to the Ptolemies, consisted as usual in crowns of gold, which the eagerness of the donors had announced to the royal treasurers before the commencement of the games. [137] From the account taken of them by these officers, their value appears to have amounted to nearly six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. [138]

Inferences to be drawn from this festival, with regard to the industry and wealth of Egypt.

At the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, which was not immediately followed by the revival of good taste in literary composition, the historians of modern Europe delighted in pompous descriptions of religious and military processions, whose prolixity is justly condemned by the criticism of the present age. I might fear to incur a similar censure, if, in the history of the Ptolemies, this showy pageant had been introduced by way of ornament. But in appreciating the condition of ancient nations, it often becomes necessary, from the want of more direct evidence, to turn to account every important monument that time has preserved. The paintings and sculptures crowding, as it were, this gorgeous solemnity, warrant the in-

[137] Προθυμιαν των στεφωντων, p. 203. and again, εστεφανωθησαν Πτολεμαιοι χρυσοις στεφανοις και τεμενεσι εν Δωδωνη. Athenæus, ibid. Casaubon in his Latin translation has mistaken these words; if the victors in the games, and not the Ptolemies, were honoured with crowns, the former must, according to the text, have had groves also assigned to them at Dodona.

[138] Talents 2239, Minas 50. The Egyptian talent contained 80 Minas; the Attic, only 60.

ference that coarser and more useful productions of art greatly abounded in Egypt: the high improvements in the trades of the gardener and florist, indicate a proportional proficiency in agriculture; the profusion of precious commodities enriching the procession, attests the commercial intercourse of Egypt, with neighbouring and remote countries; and the extraordinary advancements in national prosperity, made in the course of one reign, afford a striking illustration of the happy change that might yet be effected in any considerable province of the East, under mild and equitable laws, which would necessarily draw to it in a short time, great accessions of wealth and populousness from all the disorderly governments in its neighbourhood.

CHAP. IX.

Western Greeks. — Their Misfortunes through the Dissolution of the Pythagorean Band. — They are defended by Alexander of Epirus. — Their Revolutions to the Reign of Agathocles. — His Enormities. — Description of Carthage and its possessions. — Siege of Syracuse. — Agathocles invades Africa. — His Conquests there. — League in Sicily, resembling that of the Achæans. — Agathocles's Proceedings with Ophellas, the Usurper of Cyrené. — Bomilcar's Conspiracy. — Agathocles, King of Africa. — Greeks detached into the Inland Country. — Disasters and Defections. — Agathocles's final Return to Sicily. — His subsequent Proceedings and tragic Death. — His Mercenaries called Mamertines. — They usurp Messené. — State of Sicily.

CHAP. IX.

Connection of this history.

THE immediate successors of Alexander were distinguished in point of spirit and activity from the generation that came after them.[1] Trained in the school of that conqueror, their unceasing enterprise left scarcely any interval of repose, during which our attention might be directed to the western Greeks, and the nations intimately connected with them; a subordinate, indeed, but very important subject, which to excite interest, and afford instruction, will require more elaborate research than has hitherto been bestowed on it.

[1] Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Proœm.

CHAP. Geography and history of Epirus. B. C. 1200. —316.

The glory of the kings of Macedon excited the kindred emulation of the royal house of Epirus; a line of princes, who, deducing their origin and establishment from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, had maintained, amidst all the convulsions of the commonwealths of Greece, an undisturbed hereditary sovereignty over the north-western division of that country.[2] This mountainous and woody district, extending in breadth fifty miles, in length fifty leagues, early received the name of Epirus, the main-land or continent; an appellation naturally enough bestowed on it in contradistinction to the neighbouring islands in the Hadriatic gulph.[3] It was originally inhabited from north to south by the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians; and was famous in mythology for the oracle of Dodona, the river Achæron, the Achærusian lake, and the city of Pandosia.[4] The impervious ridges of mount Pindus, whose declivities were guarded by the fierce independence of the Æthices and Athamanes, formed its eastern or Thessalian frontier. On the south it touched the Ambracian gulph; and it terminated northward in the Acroceraunian mountains, towering directly opposite to the heel of Italy.[5]

[2] The sceptre passed quietly from father to son for nine centuries, from the foundation of the kingdom by Neoptolemus to Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316. Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. s. 36. This stability is ascribed to the equitable moderation of the government. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

[3] Παντα προς τι. The central and largest of the Orcades, (the Orkney islands), bears the same appellation.

[4] Strabo, l. vi. p. 256. Thucydid. l. ii. Plin. l. iv.

[5] Id. ibid.

CHAP. IX.

Its connection with the Greeks of Italy. B. C. 700—400.

The geographical situation of the two countries, naturally produced a commercial connection between Epirus and the Greek colonies scattered along the Italian coast, from Brundusium, at the entrance of the Hadriatic gulph, to Cumæ the mother of Naples on the Tuscan sea. But the moral and political condition of the Epirots and of the Italian Greeks tended powerfully to strengthen this connection, and to recommend the Pyrrhidæ (for so the royal lineage of Achilles was named,) as the natural defenders of their Italian brethren. The Italian Greeks had risen to distinguished splendour under the institutions of Pythagoras and his followers. Their country, together with the confederate isle of Sicily, received and once honourably upheld the name of Magna Græcia.[6] But in consequence of the persecution and total destruction of the Pythagorean band, both countries, included under that name, experienced a dreadful reverse of fortune; being precipitated from unrivalled prosperity into a series of calamities equally unexampled.[7]

Condition of those Greeks after the destruction of the Pythagorean band. Olymp. lx. 2. B. C. 539.

It is just matter of regret, that history should laboriously record the tiresome or disgusting incidents of sieges and massacres, and leave us to collect from a few obscure hints, the time and circumstances of a revolution perpetually inter-

[6] Επι τοσουτον ηυξηντο ὡστε την μεγαλην Ελλαδα ταυτην ελεγον και την Σικελιαν. Strabo, l. vi. sub init., and History of Ancient Greece, C. XI. throughout.

[7] Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. Conf. Strabo, l. vi. p. 252, 263, & 280 & l. viii. p. 384, et seq.

esting to mankind. The ruin of the Pythagoreans was sudden, unexpected, and universal; and the cities of Magna Græcia deprived by one blow, of men qualified to conduct their affairs honourably, became a prey to such disorders as are always to be apprehended when, in the struggle of parties, power falls into the hands of the worst and basest portion of the community. Banishment and confiscation seemed but moderate evils; the whole country was deformed by sedition and murder. The states of ancient Greece learned with amazement the calamitous and afflicted condition of their once flourishing colonies, and deeply compassionating their sufferings, sent embassies into Magna Græcia, with a view to extinguish the animosities by which it was consumed. When the violence of the fermentation abated, the cities of Italy committed their concerns to the good faith and wisdom of the Achæans, whose government had, from an early age, afforded the best model of a well-balanced and virtuous confederacy. In process of time, they endeavoured to conform to the Achæan institutions, both sacred and civil. The deliberations of Crotona, Sybaris, and Caulonia, were held in a common temple, consecrated to Jupiter the lover of concord and patron of confederacies.[8] We know not how far the neighbouring states concurred in this salutary plan; which was finally defeated by the arms and in-

CHAP. IX.

[8] Polybius, l. ii. c. 39. & Strabo, l. viii. p. 385. & 387. In these passages I read δμαρων, instead of δμοριων. Vid. Not. Schwiegh. ad Polyb. vol. v. p. 435. et. seq.

CHAP. IX.

trigues of the elder Dionysius[9], tyrant of Sicily, and by the perpetual incursions and unceasing opposition of the native Italians, who, while the Greek colonies occupied the coast, still retained possession of the inland country.

Threatened with destruction by the natives of Italy.

These natives, whose language was preserved[10] by the Romans after the people themselves had perished and were forgotten, appear to have greatly multiplied in the southern part of the peninsula, while invasions of the Gauls desolated and deformed the north, and colonizations of the Tuscans and Latins improved and embellished its centre. Though divided into different tribes, and distinguished by different names, they appear to have been most of them branches from the same ancient stock, called Opici by the Greeks[11], and Osci by the Romans. That the Sabines were Osci, was proved by the sameness of language[12]; and the evidence of history concurs with this identity of dialect in proving that Samnium was colonized by the Sabines[13]; Campania and Lucania, by the Samnites; and that the Brutii were revolted slaves of the Lucanians.[14] Such is the filiation of the

[9] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. xxiv.

[10] Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 233. & Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 2. They speak particularly of the Oscan tongue.

[11] Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnass. &c.

[12] Mars — a Sabinis acceptus, ubi Mamers. Varro de Ling. Latin. Mamercus Prænomen Oscum est. Festus.

[13] Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 20. & Virgil —

Hæc, genus acre virum Marsos, pubemque Sabellam.
Georg. l. ii. v. 167.

The Samnites, descendants of the Sabines, were those with whom the Romans waged the bloodiest and most obstinate wars.

[14] Strabo, l. v. p. 228.

CHAP. IX.

fierce Barbarians, who, together with the unknown tribe of the Calabri or Messapians, bordered on the territories of the Greek seaports in Italy.

The Italian Greeks assisted by the Epirots. Olymp. cx. 4. — cxiv. 1. B.C. 337 — 324.

The commercial cities of Crotona and Tarentum, which united the turbulence of democracy with the vices of luxury, compared their own licentious effeminacy with the hardy valour of the Epirots, whose martial spirit was as proverbial as that of their bulls [15], horses [16], and mastiffs [17], and whose loyal obedience had been confirmed into habit, under a race of kings, who appear never to have violated their coronation oath of governing according to law.[18] The reigning king of Epirus was Alexander, brother of the too-celebrated Olympias, a princess whose crimes are emblazoned by the inimitable glory of her son. He was the chosen friend of Philip of Macedon, who, not contented with marrying Alexander's sister, gave him in marriage his own daughter Cleopatra. This prince, whose character was worthy of his illustrious connections, in the course of fourteen years thrice came to the assistance of the Greek colonies in Italy, against the neighbouring Barbarians. His first expedition was undertaken the year immediately following that in

[15] Majores herbida tauros non habet Epirus.
Ovid. Metam. viii. 282.

[16] Eliadum palmas Epirus equorum. Virg. Georg.

[17] Veloces Spartæ catulos, acremque Molossum.
Virgil, Georg. l. iii. v. 405.

[18] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP. IX.

which Philip defeated the confederate Greeks in the field of Chæronea. The second happened seven years afterwards. The third and last, which ended in the perfidious murder of Alexander of Epirus, was contemporary with the death of his nephew and brother-in-law at Babylon [19], a death totally the reverse of his own, since the great Macedonian died in the midst of his friends and in the arms of victory.

Transition to the History of Sicily.

Alexander's expeditions into Italy, though they terminated unhappily for himself, yet retarded the subjugation of Magna Græcia, which was destined to fall by the Romans, a nobler enemy, after it had been defended in a war of six years by Pyrrhus, a more illustrious champion. The first invasion of Pyrrhus is separated by an interval of forty-three years from the death of Alexander of Epirus. During this important period, while the Epirots were too deeply concerned in the affairs of their Macedonian neighbours, to pay much attention to distant transactions in Magna Græcia, the beautiful island comprehended under that general name produced events as important as they are extraordinary, and calculated to excite interest in every age of the world. The destruction of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, appears to have been followed by similar disorders to those which accompanied the ruin of

Its revolutions from the downfal of the Pythagore-

[19] Livy, l. viii. c. 24, says, Eodem anno Alexandriam in Egypto proditum conditum, Alexandrumque Epiri ab exsule Lucano interfectum. The æra of Alexandria, however, reaches seven years higher. See Pighius's Annals and an. U. C. 420. Livy is always unhappy in speaking of Alexander the Great, and of every thing that bears a reference to that conqueror.

CHAP. IX.

their brethren in Italy. Democracies every where sprang up, which universally ended in tyrannies. The work of expelling the tyrants was begun by the patriotism of Dion, and completed by the magnanimity of Timoleon.[23] The latter delivered Syracuse, which then held an ascendency among all the Greek colonies in Sicily, a little more than a year before Philip of Macedon subdued the Athenians and their allies in the battle of Chæronea. During the few years that Timoleon lived after that memorable event, his virtues and his renown overawed the tumultuary passions of the Sicilians, and gradually recalled their attention to those arts and pursuits from which their ancestors had derived a measure of wealth and strength that rendered their comparatively petty island, a fit counterpoise to the mightiest kingdoms.[24] Timoleon's authority continued to his death, when the turbulent Sicilians again became a prey to their ancient disorders; which, in less than twenty years, paved the way for the usurpation and long reign of Agathocles[25]; one of the most memorable in history for craft and courage; for audacious enterprises coolly executed, and indefatigable exertions always most wickedly directed.

ans to the reign of Agathocles. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

The early adventures of Agathocles well qualified him for the singular character which he was to exhibit on a throne. He was the son of

His early adventures.

[23] Plutarch in Dion, et in Timoleon.
[24] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. xxiv.
[25] Diodor. l. xix. s. 1. et seq.

CHAP. IX.

an Italian potter, who, having been banished from Rhegium, fixed his abode at Thermæ in Sicily, and afterwards at Syracuse. Agathocles learned to exercise his father's trade; but his beauty soon recommended him to Damas, a wealthy voluptuary of Syracuse, who, being appointed general against Agrigentum, entrusted his minion with the office of Chiliarch, commander of a thousand men. Upon the death of Damas, Agathocles married his widow, and thereby became possessed of great opulence. The enjoyments, however, of domestic life were ill adapted to his temper. Soon after his marriage we find him as Chiliarch in an army which Syracuse had sent to defend Crotona against the assaults of the Brutii, fierce mountaineers, neighbours to that still flourishing colony, and its implacable enemies. In this warfare, Agathocles distinguished himself by the weight of his armour, which none but himself could wield; by the impetuosity of his courage, the readiness and rashness of his hand, and the audacious vehemence of his tongue. His exploits entitled him to the first prize of valour, but he was deprived of this expected reward by the generals Heraclides and Sosistratus, men envious, unjust, and profligate; who had obtained power in the state and the command of its armies, amidst dark intrigues and daring murders.[26] Agathocles, to whom a privation of honour seemed positive disgrace, loudly ar-

Distinguishes himself in the defence of Crotona. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

[26] Diodor. l. xix, s. 5.

raigned his commanders; part of the army embraced his cause; complaints were sent to Syracuse; but the influence of fear or faction prevailed over justice in the assembly: and the generals being acquitted of the malversation with which they were charged, returned to Syracuse at the end of the expedition, to resume the chief offices of government, while Agathocles remained in Italy, with the malecontents attached to his interests. At the head of this band of voluntary exiles, the restless activity of the Chiliarch, began by an enterprise as bold as it was unexpected. This was nothing less than to surprise Crotona, the place which he had been sent to succour, and in the defence of which he had recently signalized his prowess. Having failed in this flagitious undertaking he escaped to Tarentum with his adherents much diminished in number, and was taken into the pay[27] of that wealthy community, which had gradually gained an ascendency over its ancient rival Crotona, chiefly through the exclusive advantages of its harbour, affording safe anchorage in all seasons, and commanding the commerce of Italy from Sipontum in Apulia to the promontory of Japygium.[28] The bold intriguing spirit of Agathocles soon rendered him obnoxious to the Tarentines, and occasioned his dismission from their service. His former associates still followed his fortunes, much reinforced in numbers by fugitives and banditti from the

His transactions at Crotona, Tarentum, and Rhegium.

[27] Diodor. l. xix. s. 4. [28] Polybius, l. x. c. 1.

CHAP. IX.

neighbouring parts of Italy. With this motley army, prepared for every service by which it might procure pay and plunder, he readily undertook the defence of Rhegium, a city nearly opposite to Messené in Sicily, and which is said to derive its name from a convulsion of the elements by which that island was broken off and for ever separated from the neighbouring continent.[29] Rhegium was then besieged by an army of Syracusans, under the command of Heraclides and Sosistratus, Agathocles's personal as well as political foes. They were compelled to raise the siege; and at their return to Syracuse fell into such disgrace, and were exposed to such danger, that they thought it prudent to quit the city, accompanied by numerous partisans. *Their* departure was the signal for Agathocles's return. A civil war ensued; several battles were fought, and on every occasion, and almost in every station, the son of the potter approved himself alike fertile in resources and intrepid in danger, with a presence of mind that no perversity of fortune could disconcert, and a perseverance of resolution that no severity of hardship could subdue. At length his name grew so famous amongst the troops, that when the leaders of the different factions, desirous of finally terminating their differences, and of settling quietly in their common country, entered with these views into treaty with each other, Agathocles, by general consent, was appointed

His return to Syracuse.

[29] Pomponius Mela, l. ii. c. 7. Conf. Virgil, Æneid, l. iii. v. 414.

guardian of the peace, and provisional head of the republic. For the exercise of this important employment, after taking an oath to preserve the democracy, he was entrusted with a considerable body of troops, which he speedily augmented, under pretence of reducing a party of malecontents assembled at Erbita. This was an inland town, twenty miles north of the ancient and central city of Enna, a place whose local circumstances made it a fit scene for some of the most romantic fictions of mythology: the virgin beauty of Proserpine, as she gathered flowers in its odoriferous[30] vale carried off in the car of Pluto issuing from a profound chasm amidst its fantastic precipices; and Ceres, (herself a native of Enna and its bountiful[31] patroness,) seeking her fair daughter through the world, with lights borrowed from the neighbouring furnaces of Ætna.[32]

CHAP. IX. General of that republic.

In making his new levies, Agathocles purposely passed over the numerous inhabitants who crowded the streets of Syracuse, but was careful to enlist the towsmen of Morgantium, and other subordinate inland districts which had long experienced the vexatious tyranny of the Sicilian capital. Having thus provided himself with fit instruments of sedition, he delayed not to employ

[30] The strength of its odours overpowered the scent of dogs, and made them lose the tract of their game. Aristot. de Mirabil.

[31] She gave to it a species of wheat superior to that cultivated in other parts of the island or in any other country in the world. Aristot. ibid.

[32] Diodor. l. xix. s. 5.

CHAP. IX.

them. Tisarchus and Diocles[33] who were now regarded as the leaders of the aristocratic party, were summoned to meet him at the gymnasium or school of exercise, which derived its name from the tomb of Timoleon[34], the illustrious deliverer of Sicily from the dominion of tyrants. They repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by forty of their friends. Of this number, which he affected to think formidable, Agathocles availed himself as an excuse for putting them under arrest, and for accusing them before the army, as having come with an intention to seize his person; lamenting his own hard fate in provoking by his love for the soldiers and the democracy, the machinations of powerful and relentless enemies. The soldiers cried out "put them all to death." The trumpets sounded a charge; and the troops hastened to take vengeance on the council of six hundred, which had composed the late oligarchy, and all their adherents belonging to every family of distinction in Syracuse. The streets of that capital were deformed by the fury of ruffians acting with the regularity of soldiers; the gates of its proud palaces were demolished; their walls were scaled; the sanctity of temples was profaned; and what appeared an abomination not less execrable, the retired privacy of female apartments was rudely invaded. The number of slain exceeded four

Murders all the principal citizens.

[33] Polyæn. l. v. c. 3.

[34] Timoleonteum. Corn. Nepos in Timoleon, sub. fin. Wesselingius refers to Sylburgius's notes on Pausanias, l. ii. p. 171. On turning to that work, I do not verify his reference.

thousand; and upwards of six thousand fled into banishment, chiefly to Agrigentum.* The historian, himself a Sicilian, testifies his own unfitness[35] to paint the sad domestic calamity; a calamity, he says, sufficient to melt into compassion the most obdurate enemy of the Sicilian name.

Usurps the whole authority of the republic. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

On the third day, (for the massacre lasted two days and two nights,) Agathocles summoned the citizens of Syracuse to the market-place. He arraigned the acts of the late oligarchy, whose members had met with condign punishment. "The republic being now purged from the corruption which had so long infected it, nothing more," he said, "remained for him to perform. He wished, therefore, to abdicate his office, and to mix as a private man with the crowd." So saying, he began to divest himself of his military garment. But his particular adherents, abetted by all those who felt themselves gorged with blood and plunder, entreated that he would not forsake his friends and the commonwealth. Affecting to yield reluctantly to their solicitations, he required however one condition, that his administration should not be clogged with the weight of colleagues. The condition was accepted. He was voted sole general by acclamation and holding up of hands. From this time forward, though he neither assumed the diadem,

[35] Diodorus, l. xix. c. 7.

What mourner ever felt poetic fires!
Slow comes the verse that real woe inspires.
Tickel.

CHAP. IX.

nor was attended by guards, nor affected the external show of royalty, he exercised with vigour the sovereign power; appointed and disciplined the army; increased and equipped the fleet; raised, directed, and improved the revenues.

He aspires to the dominion of Sicily.—Different powers in the island.

The capacious ambition of Agathocles was not to be satisfied with the possession of Syracuse and its diminutive territory. He aspired to dominion over the whole island, which, even then, in its comparatively degraded and disunited state, still continued the richest and best cultivated portion of the western world. But the occasion requires that we should here describe its condition more particularly, as well as the circumstances of the nations among whom it was divided. From the admirable digression of Thucydides, concerning the antiquities of Sicily, each sentence of which contains matter of important information, we learn that, three hundred years before the establishment and diffusion of Greek colonies over its southern and eastern coasts, its ancient inhabitants, the Sicani, a people from Spain, were conquered by the Siculi, an obscure Italian tribe, from which the name of Sicania was changed into that of Sicily.[36] The Siculi appear to have been contented with the more valuable parts of the island, without totally extirpating the Sicani, who, flying before their arms, sought refuge in the western corner adjacent to the promontory

[36] Thucydid. l. vi. p. 411. et seq. Edit. H. Steph.

of Lilybæum, where, being reinforced by some fugitive Greeks and Phrygians after the taking of Troy, they founded Eryx and Egesta, under the common name of Elymi, a name which they assumed from Trojan Elymus.[37] The Phœnicians, also, had early established themselves for the sake of commerce near different promontories of Sicily, as well as on the various small islands in its neighbourhood. But after the aggrandizement of the Greek colonies, whose origin and progress we endeavoured formerly to describe[38], the Phœnicians, or rather the Carthaginians, who now eclipsed in power and fame their Tyrian ancestors, thought fit to contract their numerous settlements within the strong-holds of Motya, Panormus, and Solois, preferring this situation on account of their friendship with the Elymi who inhabited those western districts, and because the navigation from thence to Carthage, was both the safest and most expeditious. In the flourishing times of Magna Græcia, the Carthaginians were thus confined to a corner of Sicily, while the Siculi were driven from the coast to the inland mountains. But in the interval of near two centuries, which elapsed from the memorable trophies of Syracuse and Agrigentum to the usurpation of Agathocles, the Siculi had almost disappeared;

[37] Miscuerant Phrygiam prolem Trojanus Acestes,
Trojanusque Elymus; structis qui, pube sequuta,
In longum ex sese donarunt nomina muris.
Silius Ital. l. xiv.

[38] History of Ancient Greece, vol. ii. c. xi.

CHAP. IX.

whereas, the Carthaginians on the contrary, under the wise and steady guidance of their senate, had slowly but surely extended their possessions from Motya to Heraclæa on one side, and from Solois to Himera on the other; so that nearly a fourth-part of the island now acknowledged their dominion.

State of Carthage at that time. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

In his lofty project of aggrandizement, Agathocles might disdain the barbarous and obscure Siculi: he was already master of Syracuse, and might hope to divide and conquer the subordinate Greek colonies; but the power of Carthage seemed to form an unsurmountable barrier to his plan of undivided empire. About half a century before the commencement of her wars with Rome, from which æra she began uniformly to decline, Carthage was in the zenith of her greatness, possessing, besides innumerable colonies in all the western isles of the Mediterranean, and on several of its coasts, an undisturbed dominion over fifteen hundred miles of the African shore, from the confines of Cyrené to the pillars of Hercules; and even beyond these ideal boundaries, her commercial settlements stretched five degrees to Cerné on the ocean nearly opposite to the Canaries, then dignified by the name of the Fortunate Isles. But the nature, rather than the extent of this territory, rendered it important in four essential articles of national prosperity; agriculture, commerce, arts, and arms.

Zeugitana and Byzatium.

The Carthaginians settled on a coast, which, in remote antiquity as well as at the present time, justly deserved the name of Barbary.

CHAP. IX.

This savage country they gained, not as conquerors, but purchased lands from the natives, on the condition of yearly rents, which seem to have been faithfully paid to the time of Darius Hystaspis.[39] When they felt their own strength, they withheld these contributions, but compensated for this irregularity by exerting themselves in the civilization of their wild and wandering neighbours; by teaching them to live in houses, to exercise agriculture, and to relish the security and the sweets of a settled and peaceful life. The country stretching directly southward from the bay of Carthage to Lake Triton and the desert, opened a wide and alluring field to the labour of the husbandman. It exceeded two hundred miles in length, from north to south, and for the most part extended one hundred and fifty miles in breadth. Its northern division was called Zeugitana; its southern, comprehended within the circumference of two hundred and forty miles, first received the name of Byzatium[40], and afterwards that of *Emporia*, because the towns in that district became the principal staples for the interior trade of Africa. To this favoured tract the Carthaginians, as their maritime capital grew inconveniently populous, or their citizens restless and turbulent, were continually sending new colonies[41]; which, mixing

[39] Justin, xix. 2.

[40] Byzatium is derived by Bochart, Canaan, l. i. c. 1. from Biza, Mamma, the emblem of fertility. The same word, expressing Homer's *εθαρ αρεραs*, is applied to it by Procopius de Bell. Vandalic.

[41] Aristot. Politic. l. vi. c. 5.

CHAP. IX.

Libyphœnices.

with the rude natives under the common name of Libyphœnices, skilfully cultivated the ground, and gradually reduced the whole region under a willing obedience to Carthage. The territories of Zeugitana and Byzatium soon began, and long continued, to afford a copious source of public abundance as well as private opulence.[42] In those provinces chiefly, the Hannos, the Barcas, and the Magos, possessed such extensive and valuable estates as seemed to raise them above the condition of subjects or citizens[43]: the commonwealth of Carthage supplied its public granaries from the same territories; and, by imposing on them an annual tribute in grain, was enabled to provide large magazines, and to maintain great armies. To the eastward of the Libyphœnicians, the Syrtic region, now composing the barbarous and piratical kingdom of Tripoli, extended above five hundred miles along a sandy plain scantily watered by small rivulets, near to some of which the Carthaginians had erected a few feeble and scattered colonies. The western

Syrtic region.

[42] Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 62. The single city of Leptis paid a talent daily to Carthage; that is, the amount of 70,000l. annually. Pliny, l. xvii. c. 7. calls Byzatium "illum centena et quinquagena fruge fertilem campum," adding, that after rain he had seen the soil ploughed by a weakly little ass and a poor old woman shamefully joined to the same yoke.

[43] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 5. The great families in Carthage should seem to have addicted themselves to agriculture not less than to commerce. After the third Punic war, Mago's 128 books of husbandry were translated by order of the Roman senate; but it does not appear that the lands of Africa, like those of Italy, ever waxed "luxuriant under the real manual labour of laurelled ploughmen." Plin. l. xviii. c. 5.

division of this large tract of country, generally unfit for agriculture[44], was inhabited by the obscure tribes of the Ausenses and Machlyes, and the more famous Lotophagi, so named from the Lotus, (the Rhamnus Lotus of Linnæus,) the fruit of which served the double purpose of corn and of wine.[45] The Lotophagi were masters of the island Meninx, and held possession of the adjacent coast as far eastward as Leptis Magna, the modern Tripoli. The rest of the Syrtic region to the confines of Cyrené, and the immortal monuments of the Philænian brothers[46], was divided among the wandering tribes of the Macæ, Psylli, Nasamones, and Garamantes[47], shepherds and merchants, who, besides paying, many of them at least, a tribute to Carthage, put that republic in exclusive possession of a commerce which now enriches many states of Barbary. This trade was carried on anciently, as it is at present, by caravans; and by the exchange of salt for slaves, of dates for cattle, above all, of trinkets for gold[48]; which appears to have been the magnet that attracted the northern Africans through the desert to the

[44] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 177. et seq.

[45] Id. ibid. Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 2.

[46] See above, vol. i. p. 587. et seq.

[47] Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835. and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 616. et seq. The Garamantes lived the most inland of all, inhabiting the country now called Fezzan, the greatest oasis in the world.

[48] Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 180., with Professor Heeren's Commentary in his Ideen, p. 155. Leo Africanus, p. 31. Bruce, Poiret, and Proceedings of African Association.

CHAP. IX.

countries abounding in that precious metal. But this lucrative trade, of which the cities of Byzatium were the staples, formed only the eastern and least important link of the chain. The western was far more extensive, stretching along the coast of Barbary, and even that of Morocco, as far as Cerné and the Canary isles. The greater part of this vast and now dreary space was brightened by the Metagonite cities or fortresses[49], which, whatever may be the origin of their name, appear to have been founded by the Carthaginians for maintaining their communication, not only with the inland countries in that division of Africa, but with the negroes on the gold coast[50], and with the rich Phœnician colonies of Gades and Tartessus.[51]

Military force of Carthage.

Enriched with the gifts of agriculture and commerce, the Carthaginians were not destitute of arms to defend these advantages. The standing military force of their city and immediate territory exceeded forty thousand soldiers: the Libyphœnician husbandmen could raise a militia from fifty to seventy thousand strong: and in the needy Numidians, who roved between their dominions and the Sahara or desert, they found an inexhaustible supply of

[49] Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. and l. xviii. p. 827. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 3. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. Μετάγωνα.

[50] Herodot. l. iv. c. 196.

[51] Aristot. de Mirabil. Conf. Herodotus, l. i. c. 163. and Strabo, p. 216.

mercenaries; who served sometimes as light infantry, defended only by shields of elephants' skins; but generally as cavalry, guiding their docile horses with a cord of broom. The skin of a lion or tiger served them both for clothing, and for covering in the night. While they fought, they were always, prepared to fly; and after flight, which with them inferred not disgrace, were always, on the first prospect of advantage, ready to renew the charge. They formed not a firm body fit to contend in pitched battles; but they were an useful appendage to regular troops, since their warfare was distinguished by celerity of march, security from surprise, desolating inroads, and rapid retreats.[52] Such was the domestic strength of the Carthaginians, whose ships and treasures could occasionally bring into their service, the half-naked tribes of Gaul, leagued with bands of white-robed Iberians.[53] The inhabitants of the Baleric islands, whose slings had nearly the efficacy of our small arms, were numbered among the subjects of Carthage[54]; and her armies were often reinforced by a line of huge elephants[55], conducted by their Ethiopian, sometimes called Indian, guides. Yet the most natural defences of Carthage were its situation and its fleet. The white promontory looking towards Sardinia is distant about a hundred miles from the promontory Hermæum which points to Sicily.

[52] Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 74. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 11.
[53] Polybius, l. i. c. 67.
[54] Diodorus, l. v. s. 18.
[55] Polybius, passim.

CHAP. IX.

Situation and defences of the capital.

Near the centre of the intermediate coast, and on the east side of a spacious bay, the city of Carthage was built on a small peninsula directly opposite to Utica; which two cities had a mutual and distinct view of each other. The breadth[56] of the isthmus was about six miles, and the walls of Carthage surrounding the whole city, equalled six times that extent. The citadel Byrsa stood nearly in the middle, overlooking the harbours well secured with galleys, and the little island Cothon, surrounded with arsenals and docks, replenished with timber, and resounding with the labours of naval artisans.[57]

Agathocles's treaty with the Greek cities under the mediation of Hamilcar.

Agathocles could not be ignorant of the strength of Carthage, but he was also (as will appear hereafter) well acquainted with her weakness; and viewing both through the medium of his own ambition, he persevered in the purpose of extending his dominion over Sicily. His plan opened with operations against the Greek cities that lay between him and the Carthaginian territory. Ambassadors were sent to Carthage to make known these aggressions; and the emigrants from Syracuse filled the cities of Gela, Agrigentum, and Messené, with the same animosity against the tyrant with which their own bosoms overflowed. The Messenians also had a personal and most serious ground of resentment. Agathocles had recently withheld from them a fortress in their territory for which they had paid him a stipulated ransom;

[56] Polybius, l. i. c. 73. [57] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 833.

and not contented with this flagrant breach of faith, had made repeated attempts to get possession of Messené itself: in which design he was defeated chiefly through the desperate resistance of the Syracusan exiles. The three allies agreed to request a general from Sparta, the head of the Dorian name, and their common metropolis. Acrotatus, the son of king Cleomenes, was chosen for this command, to which he was totally unequal, and from which he soon retired with disgrace. Meanwhile, Hamilcar arrived as ambassador from Carthage, and mediated a peace on the following conditions: "that Heraclæa, Selinus, and Himera, should remain subject to the Carthaginians; that the other Greek cities should in peace enjoy their own laws, but in war should follow the standard of Syracuse, and in all public affairs acknowledge her pre-eminence." [58] Agathocles did not expect that this agreement, so favourable to himself, would be maintained or even ratified, by the Carthaginian senate. He was diligent therefore in replenishing his arsenals and magazines, and in addition to the domestic strength of Syracuse and her allies, equipped a choice body of mercenaries amounting to ten thousand foot, and three thousand and forty horse. [59] At the same time, to avail himself of the treaty just concluded with Hamilcar, he required that the states of Sicily should expel the Syracusan exiles, his active and implacable enemies. They appear

[58] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 71.

[59] Ibid. c. 72.

CHAP. IX.

all of them, except Messené, to have complied with this demand, so that the exiles were either assembled within the walls of that place, or collected in the open country, under the standard of Deinocrates; a man whose life, during the Syracusan massacre, had been saved by Agathocles, through private friendship; and who was destined, both as an enemy and as a friend, to take a distinguished part in the succeeding transactions of his reign.

Agathocles's proceedings at Messené. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

The king of Syracuse lost not any time in punishing the contumacy of Messené, in a manner suitable to his own character. His general Pasiphilus having secret instructions from his master, how he should afterwards proceed, first invaded by surprise the Messenian territory, and made himself master of many prisoners, and much booty. He then required a conference with the principal magistrates; assured them that Agathocles would rather be their friend than their enemy; but that he never could become the former, while duped by lies and artifices, they harboured the persons most hostile to himself and to the public tranquillity. The Messenians, anxious for peace, too readily listened to these admonitions. Having expelled the Syracusan exiles, who hastened to join their brethren under the standard of Deinocrates, they admitted Agathocles into their city with an armed force. The king affected to treat them with kindness and condescension; his soldiers observed strict discipline. The Messenians were so grossly deluded by him, that they were pre-

CHAP. IX.

vailed on to restore to the honours of citizenship many persons now accompanying his arms, who had been banished their country for flagrant violations of its laws. While this measure filled Messené with his partisans, Agathocles, by one decisive act of villany cleared it of his opponents. Under pretence of important business, he summoned to meet him above six hundred of the most obnoxious persons, not only from Messené, but from the neighbouring city of Tauromenium. They were all inhumanly butchered.[60] Three years before, he had treated with equal cruelty his enemies at Abycænum, a town in the same corner of the island; and these dreadful examples (so contemptible was then the temper of the Sicilians) served only to inspire dread of the tyrant, and to confirm his usurpation. He crossed the country from Messené to Agrigentum, from whence his emissaries had sent him notice of a brooding rebellion. The magistrates of the latter city were saved from destruction by the seasonable arrival of sixty Carthaginian ships in the mouth of their river. This opposition on the part of Carthage, was speedily and effectually punished by Agathocles, who invaded her possessions beyond Heraclæa, took some of her strong-holds by assault, and gained others by capitulation.

Agrigentum saved by the Carthaginians.

Meanwhile, Deinocrates, who of all men best knew the tyrant's formidable energy, sent messengers to Carthage to explain the momentous

Deinocrates and the Carthaginians oppose

[60] Diodorus, l. xix. c. 102.

CHAP. IX.

him unsuccessfully. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

nature of the war, and the necessity of pushing it immediately with armaments alike suitable to the emergency, and becoming the dignity of so mighty a commonwealth. His own band of exiles had been lately reinforced by the fugitives from Messené. This increase of strength encouraged him to assault the inland towns of Centuripæ and Galaria, both situate among the western roots of Mount Ætna; and in both of which he had secret partisans. His attempt failed at Centuripæ; at Galaria, his troops, exceeding three thousand, entered the place, and expelled a Syracusan garrison. Agathocles flew thither; defeated the enemy, who ventured to oppose him in the field; retook Galaria; and inflicted signal vengeance on all obnoxious to him, either there or at Centuripæ. While engaged in these transactions, he heard that the Carthaginians had fortified, in the territory of Gela, a camp on Mount Ecnomos, "the lawless," or, as it was sometimes called, "the cursed mountain," because the favourite strong-hold of the tyrant Phalaris, and the scene of his abominable cruelties. Agathocles marched to examine it, and having taken measures for keeping it in awe, returned to Syracuse loaded with spoil, and suspended in the temples of his capital his two-fold trophies over Greeks and Barbarians.[61]

Preparations of the Carthaginians

His triumph however was not of long duration. The Carthaginians had hitherto been contented with sending to the coast of Syracuse an

[61] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 103. et seq.

inconsiderable squadron, which had disgraced itself by capturing an Athenian merchantman (though Athens was a neutral power) and disabling its sailors by cutting off their hands. But they had now equipped an armament of a hundred and thirty galleys, with an incomparably greater proportion of transports. The troops on board exhibited that wonderful variety, which characterized the Carthaginian armies. They were provided with ample store of weapons and of corn. The command was bestowed on Hamilcar, the son of Giscon; thus characterized to distinguish him from that Hamilcar, who had concluded the late treaty with Agathocles; and who, for his share in that transaction, had been condemned by a secret decision of the supreme court of judicature of Carthage, a most tyrannical tribunal! but, by a seasonable death, had escaped the infamy of a public execution. The son of Giscon was furnished with money for hiring new mercenaries in Sicily, and in every country where they could be found. In the voyage to Sicily, though made during summer, the armament was overtaken by a tempest, which sunk sixty galleys, and broke in pieces two hundred ships of burthen. The loss most afflicting to the Carthaginians was that of their *sacred* band: for so at least, it was named by the Greeks, probably from its reminding them of the sacred band of the Thebans. It consisted of two thousand and five hundred distinguished youths, sons of the most illustrious families of Carthage, all animated by a patriotism, lavish

and loss of their sacred band. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B.C. 311.

CHAP. IX.

of life in defence of their hereditary wealth and conspicuous prerogatives. Of this noble band, which was often exhausted, but always instantly supplied from a vast crowd of expectants, the greater part perished in the storm; upon intelligence of which sad event, the Carthaginians proclaimed a public mourning; and according to custom, covered even the walls of their city with black hangings.[62]

Hamilcar lands in Sicily with forty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

Hamilcar appears to have landed on the southern coast, in a bay immediately under the fortress of Ecnomos. He reviewed his remaining forces, summoned his allies, and collected mercenaries; and notwithstanding his disaster at sea, soon found himself in a condition to take the field with an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His ships of war meanwhile were not idle. The soundest of them immediately put to sea, and captured near the straits of Messené twenty galleys belonging to Syracuse, with the whole of their crews. Agathocles was not insensible to this misfortune, nor unconcerned at the mighty preparations of the enemy; but the consideration which gave him most anxiety, was the suspected revolt of the Sicilian cities; and more immediately that of Gela, on account of its vicinity to the hostile camp. In Gela, his garrison was feeble, and he durst not increase it suddenly, lest he should precipitate the rebellion which he wished to prevent. Under various pretences, therefore, he

Massacre at Gela. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

[62] Diodor. l. xix. s. 106.

CHAP. IX.

gradually introduced small bodies of armed men into the city; at length he entered in person: accused the Geloans of treachery; butchered four thousand of the richest citizens; confiscated their effects; and commanded, under the severest penalties, all the gold and silver in the city, whether coined or uncoined, to be instantly surrendered to him. Amidst this scene of robbery and murder, the superstition of the Greeks could remark to his praise, that he ordered the bodies of the slain to be interred in a burying-ground without the city.[63]

Agathocles defeated on the banks of the Himera. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B.C. 311.

Agathocles having thus secured Gela, a place of the utmost importance in case of a defeat, advanced towards the eastern or left bank of the Himera, near to the opposite side of which river the Carthaginians were encamped. Mutual incursions of parties brought on a more general engagement, for the success of which, the Syracusan had provided by a well-contrived ambush. He was on the point of gaining a signal victory, and even of forcing the enemy's camp, when a Carthaginian fleet, containing a powerful reinforcement appeared, and soon landed near the scene of action. This unlikely and inauspicious event disconcerted and dismayed the Greeks, who had already suffered greatly in the assault of the enemy's lines, chiefly from the well-aimed discharge of the Balearian slingers placed at a convenient distance, who overwhelmed them with stones of a pound in weight, that shattered

[63] Diodor. s. 107.

CHAP. IX.

the firmest shields and corslets. Such, the historian observes, is the address acquired by the Balearides in an art to which they had been regularly trained from their youth, and in which they are continually exercised through life.[64] The Greeks soon found themselves exposed to a double attack, from the camp which they had in some parts penetrated, and from the unexpected reinforcement just sent from Carthage. They began a disorderly retreat to their own camp near four miles distant. Many of them were trampled down by the Numidian cavalry; and many perished by drinking, exhausted as they were by the canicular heat, the brackish waters of the Himera. Agathocles having assembled his discomfited army, diminished by the loss of seven thousand men, set fire to his camp, which must otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and shut himself up within the walls of Gela.[65]

Agathocles's stratagems.

Defeated, but not disconcerted, the tyrant had studiously given out in the midst of his retreat, that he intended immediately to march to Syracuse. A body of three hundred Numidian horse, deceived by this intelligence advanced to Gela as to a friendly city, but were speedily buried at the foot of its walls, by a shower of stones and javelins. Agathocles chose to halt at Gela, not because he could not have proceeded to Syracuse, but that the enemy might be retarded before the former city, till the inhabitants of the

[64] Diodor. l. xix. s. 109. [65] Ibid. s. 100.

CHAP IX.

latter had time to reap and treasure up their luxuriant harvest. His foresight was justified by the event. Hamilcar sat down before the place; but soon discovered that it was so well provided with every thing necessary for a long and vigorous defence, that he prudently abandoned the enterprise. His decisive victory on the banks of the Himera, opened to him a series of easier and bloodless conquests. The subordinate cities of the island, which like Messené, Abacænum, and Tauromenium, had already experienced, or like Leontium, Camerina, and Catana, now dreaded the tyrant's cruelty, were ready to open their gates, and to receive Hamilcar as their deliverer. He joyfully undertook the office, and approved himself worthy of their confidence, both in the regular deportment of his troops, and in the generosity and affability of his personal behaviour.[66] Agathocles meanwhile had repaired to Syracuse, and placed that capital in a firm attitude of defence. Its extensive works were diligently examined; and, where decayed, strengthened. The supplies of the late harvest were treasured in its magazines. It was filled with skilful artisans, qualified to provide all the materials of war; it had soldiers exercised in employing those materials to the best advantage; and it was commanded by a general, whose glory, and interest, and personal safety, were concerned in defending it to the last extremity.

Hamilcar's respectable behaviour.

Agathocles puts Syracuse in a posture of defence.

But the care of this defence, Agathocles un- Motives which en-

[66] Diodor. s. 100.

CHAP. IX.

gaged Agathocles to invade the domain of Carthage. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

expectedly committed to his brother Antander; while he himself embarked in an expedition at once daring and politic. His capital was soon surrounded by Hamilcar's forces greatly superior to his own, both by sea and land. The inferior cities of Sicily continued to vie with each other, in espousing and promoting the Carthaginian interest. Should Hamilcar be tired out by the obstinacy of a long defence, yet the possession of the whole island besides, would compensate his disgrace in raising the siege of a single city. But the inflexible spirit of the Carthaginian policy gave the king of Syracuse little reason to expect even this alternative. He had too just ground to apprehend that the siege would be converted into a blockade, and that the success which might be denied to the assaults of prowess, would be obtained by the surer operation of time and perseverance. On the side of Sicily, all therefore was dark to Agathocles: but there was another prospect which dispelled his gloom, and animated his alacrity. The vast domain of Carthage was a virgin territory that had never been violated by the rude hand of invasion. The safety of its capital indeed was secured by strong walls, but upwards of two hundred rich and populous towns in the Libyphœnician district were left open and defenceless [67]; agreeably to a crafty injunction of the Carthaginian senate, to the end that places, which had little to apprehend from the ignorance and weakness of neigh-

[67] Justin. l. xxii. c. 52. Conf. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 17.

bouring Barbarians, might always lie at the mercy of their own jealous capital. The blooming spoils of a country, abounding in the richest gifts of nature, and the highest embellishments of art, offered a tempting prize to a greedy tyrant and his rapacious mercenaries. By invading and plundering it, he would at once carry the war into the heart of the enemy's resources: among the reluctant subjects of Carthage, he expected to find willing auxiliaries: confident in the vigilance of her fleet, the republic had sent the flower of her troops into Sicily: along the whole extent of the African coast from Cerné to Cyrené, in which latter, Agathocles found an eager ally, there was not any military strength capable of resisting the Grecian phalanx; by his victories, therefore, in Africa, he hoped not only to recover his lost dominions in Sicily, but to open to the valour of his followers a wide and almost boundless field of conquest. CHAP. IX.

Agathocles's proceedings for securing Syracuse during his absence. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 510.

The measures which he adopted for executing this undertaking, in the planning of which he had not a single confident, shew the dreadful energies of a government by terror. The forces which he purposed to carry with him, besides his mercenaries and manumitted slaves, consisted in the choice of the Syracusan citizens, skilfully selected from each family, that the separation of kinsmen, brothers, and friends, might render those who accompanied the tyrant, hostages for the fidelity of others whom he left behind. Having thus levied about fourteen thousand

CHAP. IX.

men, whose destination was equally unknown to themselves and the public, he provided them with all necessaries, particularly an exhaustless supply of saddles and bridles; for in the battle of Himera he had saved most of his horsemen, whom, without the trouble of transporting horses to Africa, he expected easily to mount in that country. Money was next procured by borrowing from the merchants, and taking into his own hands the fortunes of orphans. The temples were despoiled of their offerings; and the women of their ornaments: and when these severities excited murmurs in the city, Agathocles summoning an assembly, expressed well-feigned sorrow for the exigencies of the moment, and the sacrifices which they required: that for himself who had been enured to hardship, he was prepared to bear the worst evils incident to a siege, but that those who wished to avoid them, might depart from Syracuse with their effects. Many availed themselves of this permission, carrying with them their long-concealed treasures. They were way-laid by the tyrant's mercenaries, plundered, and massacred.[68]

Incidents which favoured his voyage to the Libyphœnician coast.

Meanwhile sixty stout galleys were equipped within the windings of the inmost harbour. The troops were embarked; and within a few days obtained an opportunity of sailing, by an incident, in which good fortune seconded Agathocles's dexterity. A fleet of victuallers having approached the Syracusan coast, a large Cartha-

[68] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 4.

ginian squadron quitted its station in order to intercept and take them: the blockade being thus partially removed, Agathocles put to sea: the Carthaginian admiral imagining his sudden appearance to be a manœuvre for protecting the convoy, formed the line of battle. Agathocles disregarding this challenge, rapidly pursued his destined course. The Carthaginians followed him, neglecting the victuallers, which reached Syracuse in safety. Six days and six nights the pursuit was continued. The darkness of the first night, and an eclipse of the sun, which happened on the succeeding day, delivered Agathocles from the immediate danger of a sea-fight, which he earnestly wished to avoid, that he might transport his forces fresh and entire to the Libyphœnician coast. But before he made land, the swiftest of the Carthaginian galleys had reached the slowest of his own. They were repelled chiefly by the great superiority of his marines.[69] He landed in a small bay near a place called the Quarries; drew his ships on shore; erected a slight and temporary rampart; and following the dictates of real prudence, performed a deed of apparent audacity. Alluding to the legend, of high authority among the Sicilians, of Ceres seeking her daughter with lights borrowed from Mount Ætna, he said, that amidst the dangers of his voyage, he had vowed to these protecting divinities, the conflagration of his fleet. An attendant brought

He burns his fleet.

[69] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 4—6.

CHAP. IX.

him a fire brand, which he instantly applied to the admiral galley. The example was followed by all the trierarchs or naval commanders; the flame mounted on high; and the whole fleet was consumed amidst the sound of trumpets and military acclamations.[70] Agathocles, besides thus placing his followers between victory and despair, could not otherwise have prevented his ships from falling a prey to the enemy; since soldiers could not be spared for defending his hastily erected block-house, without too much diminishing his army.

Beautiful country on his march to Megalopolis.

Careful not to allow time for the sensations of his men to vibrate from enthusiasm to despondency, he led them to *Megalopolis*, the great city, through a country smiling with the fairest gifts of long undisturbed industry. The land was on all sides intersected by canals, whose banks were adorned by flourishing plantations or flowery gardens. Amidst scenes of elegance and beauty, the vine and olive claimed admission, on account of their indispensable utility. The opulence of the inhabitants was strongly displayed in the elegant embellishment of their rural mansions, and in the well-replenished storehouses with which they were surrounded. Troops of young horses sported in irriguous meadows; while the adjoining lawns teemed with herds of sheep and oxen. Throughout the whole prospect, exuberant nature was improved by skilful art, for many of the principal families of Carthage in-

[70] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 7.

habited this district, and vied with each other in cultivating and adorning it.[71] CHAP. IX.

The soldiers of Agathocles viewed with delight a prize worthy their valour. The town of Megalopolis was taken by the first assault, and plundered. That of White Tunes, the nighest to it, and two hundred miles distant from Carthage, shared the same fate. He takes that city and White Tunes.

Meanwhile the Carthaginian fleet had observed, at a respectful distance, the proceedings of the enemy. The conflragation of the Syracusan ships, filled them at first with a pleasing astonishment; but this premature emotion was converted into terror and dismay, when they beheld the regular march of the Grecian phalanx into the heart of their country.[72] They ventured however to sail to the enemy's landing place, seized the brazen beaks of their galleys, the principal relicts of the conflagration; covered the prows of their own ships with skins died black, according to their accustomed practice in times of public mourning, and sent advice-boats bearing the same melancholy ensigns to Carthage, with intelligence of the invasion; but at the same time, with the compensating news, that all things were prosperous in Sicily. The sad part of the tidings had already flown from the country to the capital. That luxurious, and hitherto peaceful, city was thrown into the utmost trepidation. While the senators hastened to their place of meeting, the citizens crowded the Sensations occasioned at Carthage by the invasion.

[71] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 8.

[72] Ibid. s. 9.

CHAP. IX.

market-place, generally believing that their fleets and armies must have perished in Sicily, since Agathocles would never have ventured to invade Africa, unless he had vanquished the armament before Syracuse, and made himself master of the sea. The firmest and wisest counsellors exhorted them to suspend their judgment, until surer intelligence should arrive: while others advised, that ambassadors should be immediately dispatched to crave peace, adding in the true spirit of Punic policy, that the same persons would serve as spies on the proceedings and intentions of the enemy.[73]

The domestic troops of Carthage defeated.

The arrival of the advice-boats put an end to those deliberations. Hanno and Bomilcar were appointed generals; and ordered immediately to take the field with the domestic strength of the city, exceeding forty thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and one thousand cavalry. These troops nearly thrice as numerous as the Greeks, were, except the sacred band of two thousand five hundred men, in a very imperfect state of discipline; and the Carthaginians loudly reproached the negligence of their navy, to whose protection they had long confided the safety of their shores. Agathocles, meanwhile, advanced northward, rejoicing to hear that the enemy had quitted their walls, and were preparing to encounter him in battle. Success in a single action, he thought, would enable him to extend his ravages on all sides with security.

[73] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 9.

In order to gain this advantage, he is said to have employed very unusual stratagems. The leathern coverings of the shields belonging to his phalanx, were extended on rods, to supply a defence or rather the show of a defence even to his light-armed troops, and (what to mere modern readers will appear a ridiculous expedient), immediately before the action, the owls of Minerva being in different parts of the line released from their concealment, perched on the heads and shoulders of the soldiers, and filled them with a sure presage of victory. The battle was short but decisive, most of the Carthaginian chariots of war either passed without doing harm, through the intervals left for them between the Grecian ranks, or were forced to recoil on their own infantry. The African horse made not a more successful impression, meeting in the long Grecian spear a weapon of all others most effectual against cavalry. When the adverse bodies of infantry engaged, the sacred band, headed by Hanno, signalized its prowess, until that general himself fell; after which, the perfidious Bomilcar, for reasons that will in due time be explained, retreated, with the loss of six thousand men, towards Carthage. The Greeks, of whom two hundred had fallen in the engagement, desisted from an unprofitable pursuit, in order to plunder the Carthaginian camp; in which they found an unexpected booty, not less than twenty thousand pair of fetters for the hands, the Carthaginians having determined to take their enemies alive,

CHAP. IX.

that they might shut them up in work-houses, and thereby profit by their labour.[74]

Carthaginian superstitions.

During its long and undisturbed prosperity, the republic of Carthage had neglected to consecrate the tythe of its revenues to the gods of Tyre, its ancient but decayed metropolis; and individuals had forborne to propitiate the unrelenting idol of Saturn with burnt offerings of their children. The public disasters reminded them with terror of these omissions. Their portable golden temples enclosing the revered images of their gods, were sent on an embassy of supplication to Tyre; and Saturn, who had been long cheated with the sacrifice of mean suppositious children, was glutted with the blood of five hundred of the noblest youths of the commonwealth.[75] At the same time a vessel was sent to Sicily, requiring assistance from Hamilcar, and conveying to him the brazen beaks of Agathocles's galleys. Of this circumstance the Carthaginian general, who seems to have had all the craft without any of the cruelty of his country, immediately availed himself to dispatch a triumphant embassy to the Syracusan generals, requiring them to surrender their city, since their sixty galleys had been burnt, of which the brazen beaks were exhibited as a proof, and Agathocles with his whole army had perished in Africa. The multitude believed; their commanders hesitated; the ambassadors, however, were dismissed; and as provisions began to grow

Negociation of Hamilcar with the Syracusans.

[74] Diodor. l. xx. s. 13.

[75] Ibid. s. 14.

scarce, eight thousand persons, including women and children, were driven from Syracuse, consisting of all those who were nearly related to the exiles, or who had discovered signs of impatience under the present government. Hamilcar received kindly these miserable fugitives; and showed them that he was preparing to advance his machines, and to avenge their wrongs. But before assaulting the city, he sent a second embassy to Antander, Agathocles's brother, promising, that if he would surrender the place, himself and his friends should be safe. Antander summoned a council of war, and being of a character directly the reverse of his brother's, gave his own opinion in favour of a capitulation. But Erymnon, an Etolian, whom Agathocles had left as his joint lieutenant with Antander, did not belie that obstinacy and ferocity for which his republic was conspicuous.

Nearchus brings news of Agathocles's success.

His inflexibility in resisting any proposal for a treaty, was justified by the arrival of a light galley of thirty oars, which had been built by Agathocles after the burning of his fleet, and which, under the command of Nearchus, one of his principal confidants, reached the coast of Syracuse from Africa on the evening of the fifth day, and, on the sixth at day-break, darted into the harbour of Trogilus, and got within the batteries of the walls, when she was on the point of being taken by the enemy. The rowers, who were crowned with laurel, chanted pæans of victory; and the citizens, even many of those who guarded the walls, flocked to the harbour,

CHAP. IX.

to hear the more joyous because unexpected news of the triumphs of their brethren in Africa. The vigilance of Hamilcar neglected not this opportunity for assailing the deserted ports. But he was repulsed with considerable loss; in consequence of which he determined to remit the siege for the present, and send five thousand of his best troops to Carthage.[76]

Agathocles makes great conquests in Africa.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, proceeded with a prosperous tide of fortune. He had taken Tunes[77], only fifteen miles distant from Carthage. Having garrisoned that city, he returned eastward to reduce the numerous seaports between the promontory Hermæum, and the Lesser Syrtis. Neapolis, Adrumetum, Thapsus, in all two hundred places, boasting the name of cities, were the prizes of his valour. Elymas, a Libyan prince who had joined his arms, but afterwards discovered an inclination to rebel, was punished with death; and the Carthaginians, who had been encouraged by Agathocles's absence and the arrival of the reinforcement from Sicily, to attempt the recovery of Tunes, were surprised in the night, and compelled to retreat to their camp near that place, with the loss of two thousand slain and many made prisoners.[78]

Hamilcar defeated before Sy-

During these transactions Hamilcar had experienced the utmost severity of fortune. En-

[76] Diodor. l. xx. s. 14.

[77] A place carefully to be distinguished from White Tunes above mentioned, p. 185.

[78] Diodor. ibid. s. 17. & 18.

CHAP. IX.

coüraged by flattering omens, he had renewed the siege, and ventured to assault Syracuse in the night with his whole force on the side of Olympium, a suburb so named from its temple of Olympian Jupiter, near the right bank of the Anapus, and overlooking the great harbour on the southern side of the city. The Syracusans, apprised of this design, had strengthened the neighbouring fortress of Euryelus with three thousand foot and four hundred horse. Amidst the difficulties of the narrow roads which led to the lofty walls of the capital, a quarrel arose between the long train of Carthaginian engineers and the Sicilian banditti who accompanied the ranks for the sake of plunder. The confusion became general throughout the line, and was speedily perceived by the small garrison of Euryelus, which unexpectedly rushing on the enemy, repelled forty thousand foot and five thousand horse, through the assistance of darkness, deceit, and the intricacies of the ground. Hamilcar, resisting bravely and endeavouring to rally his nearest ranks, was taken alive and brought into Syracuse; where, after enduring the most horrid indignities from those whose friends or kinsmen had suffered in the war, his head was cut off and sent in triumph to Agathocles.[79] The bloody present reached its destination; though the Carthaginians still guarded the coast, and shortly after captured ten Syracusan gallies, which had ventured forth to meet and convoy an expected fleet of victuallers.

Syracuse and made prisoner. Olymp. cxvii. 4. B. C. 309.

His death.

[79] Diodor. ibid. s. 50.

CHAP. IX.

A league formed in Sicily resembling the Achæan league in Greece.

The defeat and death of Hamilcar, who, whatever may have been his military talents, was certainly a Carthaginian of distinguished humanity, was followed by important but unforeseen consequences both in Sicily and Africa. The subordinate cities of the island, perceived with deep interest, how much both the Syracusans and Carthaginians exhausted themselves by their obstinate warfare; and what threatening clouds of adversity impended over both Syracuse and Carthage; the former divided, depopulated, yet almost famished; the latter often defeated, with a victorious enemy at her gates, and since her recent disaster, without any success in Sicily to compensate her misfortunes in Africa. Amidst the miseries and humiliation of the two great powers, by which they had been alternately subjugated, the cities of Sicily, fifty years before the renewal of the Achæan league in Greece, set on foot a confederacy, animated by like views and originating in similar circumstances. In this honourable design Agrigentum and its general Zenodicus taking the lead, expelled the Carthaginians from the neighbouring town of Gela: the ancient and centrical city Enna joined the army of Gela and Agrigentum: Erbessus followed the example; and, assisted by her new allies, defeated her barbarian garrison with great slaughter, and made five hundred prisoners. Some Syracusan troops, availing themselves of their recent advantage over the Carthaginians, had seized the inland town

of Echetla, a strong intermediate post between the territories of Camerina and Leontium, by ravaging which they endeavoured to remedy the scarcity of Syracuse. Zenodicus repelled their incursions, stormed their strong-holds, gave freedom to the inhabitants of Echetla, and united that city, as well as Leontium and Camerina, to the confederacy of equal laws and Sicilian independence.[80] The fame of these exploits spread rapidly over the island; the passion for liberty glowed warm in every breast; the Carthaginians were driven from their garrisons to their ships, and Syracuse had soon far more danger to apprehend from Greek rebels than from barbarous invaders.

The affairs of Agathocles, meanwhile, still prospered in Africa. On receiving the head of Hamilcar, he rode furiously within hearing of the Carthaginians before Tunes, and boasted the complete victory of his generals in Sicily, of which he ostentatiously displayed the horrid trophy. Agreeably to the slavish ceremony with which the Greeks were accustomed to upbraid[81] the *eastern* Barbarians, the Carthaginians, also, prostrated themselves on the ground in adoration of the sad remains of their king and general. They were utterly dismayed with the hideous spectacle; kept themselves shut up within their fortifications; and gave indubitable proof of their dismal forebodings concerning the issue of the war. *Their* dejection elevated the

The head of Hamilcar displayed to the Carthaginians.

[80] Diodor. l. xx. s. 31, 32. [81] Isocrat. in Panegyr.

CHAP. IX.

Sedition in Agathocles's army, how excited and how appeased.

minds of the Greeks, always ready to grasp every occasion of rejoicing and festivity. This was the character of the nation, and particularly of Agathocles, in whom the gloomy temper of the tyrant was brightened by the talents of a wit, a mimic; and a buffoon; who delighted in scenes of drunken revelry, during which he discovered the passions of other men while he concealed his own; and who was so little anxious to preserve the state of royalty, that he mixed in familiar jesting with the meanest retainers of the army; and while his friends and generals were served on plate of silver and gold, chose that the humble earthen-ware, from which he himself always preferred to eat, should continually remind him of his ancient trade and lowly origin.[82] A prince who disdains pride may procure popularity, but is not likely to inspire that habit of respect for his person which will on every occasion overawe his attendants. At an entertainment given by Agathocles, Lysiscus, one of his generals of great renown in the army, insulted his master with the most poignant satire, which might have appeared the more unpardonable, because it was well merited; but Agathocles dexterously sheltered his dignity under the shield of good humour. The reproaches, however, which *he* affected to treat only with ridicule, appeared in a more serious light to his son Archagathus; a son who was deformed by the cruelty and ferocity of his

[82] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 63.

father, without possessing any share of his pleasantry and magnanimity. The youth not only blamed but threatened Lysiscus; and, as they returned in the evening to their tents, renewed the charge with such vehemence, that Lysiscus retorted the indignity by upbraiding Archagathus as the incestuous paramour of his stepmother Alcias. On hearing this personal insult, the son of Agathocles was no longer master of himself. He seized a weapon from one of his attendants, and stabbed the reviler to the heart.[83] Next day the whole camp was in commotion; most demanded the blood of Archagathus; and if the father should refuse his son to just punishment, the speediest and most terrible vengeance was threatened on his own head: so deeply were those moved by the death of one of their own fierce companions, who had beheld with calm and cruel insensibility, the desolation of cities, and the butchering of whole communities. The news of the sedition soon reached the Carthaginians, who ventured to send emissaries to the Greeks, soliciting them to enter into their service on conditions calculated to satiate the keenest appetite for gold. Two thousand yielded immediately to the temptation; and many more promised shortly to join the Carthaginian camp: at the same time that they seized the walls of Tunes, and held Agathocles with the few officers that remained faithful to him, in a state of captivity embittered by

CHAP. IX.

[83] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 93.

CHAP. IX.

agonizing suspense. In this desperate condition, which his cruelties had a thousand times merited, the tyrant was not forsaken by his presence of mind. He knew the temper of crowds, and that commonly none but cowards are their victims. Having approached the armed multitude, he divested himself of his purple robe, assumed a supplicatory garment, and loudly demanded an assembly. The troops made way, and flocked from all quarters to surround the tribunal of their general; who had come to surrender the person of his son, or to perish himself by their hands. This latter, he declared, was his purpose, reminding them how often they had beheld him brave death in the field: that he no more dreaded it in the assembly, of which they should presently be witnesses. So saying, he drew his sword, and aimed it at his own bosom. An universal shout suspended his arm; many voices were then heard, commanding him to resume the purple. "If I live," he said, "let it be for some glorious purpose. The Carthaginians have now left their camp, expecting your defection. Follow your king, to punish those who would have subjected you to the infamy of traitors." The Carthaginians, instead of an army of deserters, found a band of resistless assailants; and were driven with great slaughter to their camp.[84] Thus was the imminent danger into which the tyrant had been plunged through the

[84] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 34.

sanguinary rashness of his son, converted through his own cool intrepidity, into a source of glorious success.

Agathocles defeats the Carthaginians in the country of their Numidian allies. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

Soon after this transaction, Agathocles was called to a new scene of warfare, among the wild and unknown nations of Numidia, whose wandering independence separated the maritime empire of Carthage from the Sahara, or Sandy Desert. The Carthaginians had sent a strong army thither, to collect and confirm their Numidian allies; an army strengthened by the two thousand Greeks, who had recently deserted to them. Agathocles, desirous of anticipating the designs of the enemy, and probably not unwilling to divide his mutinous troops, and thus, according to his accustomed policy, to render one portion of them hostages for the fidelity of the other, selected from his army in Tunes and its neighbourhood, a body of near ten thousand men, of which eight hundred were cavalry, and marched into the country of a tribe of Numidians called *Zuphones*. There, the Carthaginians, on hearing of the enemy's approach, encamped on an eminence, surrounded by deep and rapid torrents. In this fortress they endeavoured to render themselves secure against the assaults of the advancing Greeks, while they recommended to their barbarous allies, to harass their rear and flank with those unexpected incursions and rapid retreats, which distinguish Numidian warfare, and render it incessantly troublesome, if not eminently dangerous. To these desultory skirmishes, Agathocles opposed

CHAP. IX.

his slingers and bowmen; and having left behind, under what he deemed a sufficient guard, his heavy baggage and prisoners, marched to assail the enemy's camp. A short conflict ensued at the passage of the intermediate stream, which the Greek deserters, under Clinon, defended with great bravery, until more than one-half of them were slain. Agathocles pressed forward, repelled and dispersed the enemy, made many prisoners, but was prevented from further urging the pursuit by information that his own baggage was in the hands of the Numidians. These faithless barbarians had stood aloof from the engagement, with the purpose of plundering the baggage of the vanquished, whether Greeks or Carthaginians. But as, by the repulse of the latter, the action was transported to the vicinity of their camp, the Numidians changed their first resolution, and made their incursion on the remote depository of the victorious Greek; hoping to escape with their booty, before any reinforcement could be sent for its recovery. The celerity of Agathocles, partially defeated their expectations; several of them were intercepted and taken; but the greater part were saved from pursuit by the approach of night. Agathocles raised a trophy on the ground where he had conquered the Carthaginians, and divided the spoils taken from them among his soldiers, that they might the less regret their lost baggage.[85] Among his

[85] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 38, 39.

CHAP. IX.

His treatment of the Greek deserters.

prisoners he discovered many of the Greek deserters, whom he separated from the rest, and confined under a strong guard, until he should have leisure to decide their doom. But the Greeks rose in the night, massacred their guard, and took post on a neighbouring fastness, from whence they hoped to sell their lives dearly to the tyrant. Agathocles, who perceived the advantage of their situation, and whose affairs admitted not of delay, was forward in granting them a capitulation; which he basely and wickedly violated by subjecting them to military execution. They amounted to near one thousand in number, of whom five hundred were Syracusans. [86]

Agathocles's successful negociation with Ophellas.

With the perfidy and cruelty of a leader of banditti, Agathocles united the policy and foresight worthy of a great prince. In search of allies, whose resentment as well as strength might facilitate his conquest of Carthage, he had not forgot the ancient wars between that republic and the rival commonwealth of Cyrené. Thirteen years before the invasion of Africa by Agathocles, Cyrené, with its four allied cities of the Pentapolis, had submitted, as we have before seen, to the arms of the first Ptolemy, and the fleet of Egypt. Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, who, after the death of that mighty conqueror, followed the fortunes of his Egyptian successor, had been appointed by Ptolemy to govern the country which he had helped to subdue; and

[86] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 38, 39.

CHAP. IX.

appears to have faithfully exercised the authority entrusted to him until the great war against Antigonus, in which Ptolemy acted so busy a part, encouraged the Cyrenean viceroy to revolt from his master, and instead of a delegated jurisdiction, to assume independent sovereignty. The Cyreneans, worn out by endless seditions between the nobles and the populace which had long and cruelly mangled their commonwealth, appear to have patiently submitted to this usurpation; which, in giving to them a king of their own, released them from the oppression of provincial government, and placed them on a foot of equality with those great nations that had been conquered and colonized by their Grecian brethren. But Ophellas, being a man of a light and vain character, of immoderate ambition, and very inadequate abilities, was not contented with this easy acquisition; but, intoxicated with his first criminal success, grasped in his aspiring dreams as extensive an empire in Libya as Seleucus and Ptolemy, his ancient companions in arms, had respectively conquered in the East. Agathocles was apprised of his character and his views, and sent to him Orthon a crafty Syracusan. Orthon told the king of Cyrené, that he had come to invite him to a confederacy against Carthage, which, as it was the great enemy to Agathocles's security and repose, was also the principal, and, indeed, the only obstacle, to his own aggrandizement. That Agathocles had been reluctantly compelled to invade Africa, in defence of Sicily and of his capital Syracuse, actu-

CHAP. IX.

ally besieged by the enemy; but that his sole views in this expedition were to cause a seasonable diversion of the Carthaginian forces; to recall them to their own country; to break, and if possible, to destroy the power of a restless commonwealth, without the humiliation of which he never could expect to see the tranquillity of his own dominions. Ophellas warmly embraced an invitation so favourable to his projects: he had married Euthydica daughter to Miltiades an Athenian, who derived his name from the illustrious commander in the battle of Marathon. The splendour of this marriage and the respectful attention with which he had been careful to cultivate the declining age of that once great and proud, but now vain and frivolous city, gave him much credit with the Athenians. On the first proposal that he sent to them of joining his standard, many Athenians not only embarked, but earnestly persuaded their friends and connections in neighbouring cities, to prefer the service of a foreign prince to that idleness, poverty, and disgrace to which they had been condemned in their native country, since the overwhelming preponderance of the Macedonian power. [87]

Ophellas's march from Cyrené to Carthage.

Encouraged by a reinforcement from the centre of Greece, Ophellas began his march with ten thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, an hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers and combatants after the fashion of the

[87] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 40.

CHAP. IX.

heroic ages. This army, more formidable by its quality than its numbers, was accompanied by a great caravan, consisting of merchants and mechanics, many of whom, as is usual with Nomades, carried with them their wives, children, and effects; which gave to this military march the appearance of a colonial migration. The travellers proceeded at the rate of nearly fourteen miles daily, till they arrived at Automolæ, the next station beyond the altars of the Philænian brothers; the desolate and dreary limit of Cyrenian and Carthaginian power. Above twice that time was requisite to carry them to the army of their allies through the inhospitable Syrtic regions, deficient in every necessary supply, except the lotus-tree above-mentioned, on which alone the army subsisted many days[88]; and infested with venemous reptiles, often resembling in colour the soil on which they crawled, and therefore the more difficult to be avoided even by the cautious foot.[89]

His reception and treatment by Agathocles. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B.C. 308.

Agathocles, for the conveniency of foraging, had moved northwards to the immediate territory of Carthage. There, he received his new allies with the warmest cordiality: all their wants were abundantly supplied: Ophellas was often entertained at his table; and a son of the Cyrenian was adopted by the Syracusan king. These

[88] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 4.

[89] Diodor. l. xx. s. 41. Conf. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 19. The cerastes, or horned viper, he says, is found at the root of almost every plant of Absinthium. His observation relates to part of the desert of Barca, anciently belonging to the territory of Cyrené.

demonstrations of kindness concealed the blackest perfidy. Yet, after the tyrant had gained the full confidence of his weak and unwary confederate, he disdained to take him off by the vulgar expedients of assassination or poison. Having easily persuaded the unsuspicious prince to send on distant foraging parties the best and most faithful portion of his troops, he immediately assembled his own soldiers; explained to them the danger to which both they and himself were exposed from those perfidious strangers; boldly arraigned Ophellas of covering under the semblance of friendship a design to destroy him, and commanded his men to follow him to the Cyrenian camp. The charge was sounded. Ophellas was sternly reproached with treason in presence of both armies. The follower of Alexander, though thus circumvented, was not confounded. He flew to arms, but speedily fell in the unequal conflict. His troops, whether they believed, or only affected to believe, the accusation against him, were easily prevailed on by the liberal promises of Agathocles to desist from unavailing hostility, and to enter into a profitable service. The parties which had been sent to a distance, finding themselves without a general or a pay-master, followed the example of their companions, preferring safety to revenge.[90]

CHAP. IX.

Ophellas slain, his army joins that of Agathocles.

While this extraordinary scene was acted in the territory, another not less memorable passed

Bomilcar's conspiracy against the

[90] Diodor. l. xx. s. 42.

CHAP. IX.

Carthaginian government. Its causes and issue.

within the walls, of Carthage. That republic, which had subsisted five centuries[91] without a sedition and without a tyrant, was involved in the first of these evils, and nearly threatened with the second. Bomilcar, whose unexpected and apparently cowardly retreat in the first battle with Agathocles has been already mentioned, acted that unworthy part, not through pusillanimity but perfidy. He wished the Greeks to get a firm footing in the country, hoping, amidst the terrors of foreign invasion, to find a fit opportunity for effecting a revolution in the Carthaginian government; that might at once gratify his resentment and ambition; his resentment against the supreme court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which had unjustly condemned his most respected kinsmen or friends; and his ambition of placing himself, by means of his army, at the head of the commonwealth. In this undertaking, equally flagitious and audacious, Bomilcar might endeavour to reconcile his conduct with his conscience, by reviewing the lamentable changes which had gradually taken place in the ancient and well-balanced aristocracy of Carthage. These changes it is here necessary to describe, that we may understand the grounds and motives of Bomilcar's conspiracy, the best key to the subsequent history of his country. The chief magistrates of Carthage, called Suffetes, are compared by Aristotle with the kings of Sparta; which indicates a longer duration of office than that of Athenian

[91] Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

Archons, or Roman Consuls. The members of the Carthaginian senate were, as well as the Suffetes, appointed with a due regard to merit and wealth. When the Suffetes and senate were of the same mind, they exercised without controul both the legislative and executive powers of government. When they differed in opinion, an assembly of the people was summoned to decide between them. The people, in their national assembly, also named the naval and military commanders; whose functions appear to have been seldom conjoined with any of the principal branches of civil power. The Suffetes, who alternately presided in the senate or assembly, are sometimes, by the Greek writers, called kings; and the same title is not unfrequently bestowed on those Carthaginian commanders, who were entrusted with the conduct of great armies and of long or important wars. The government of Carthage, however, was very remote from royalty: it was equally remote from democracy; it was strictly aristocratical: and the vigour of the aristocracy resided in two tribunals, which bear a near analogy to the council of ten, and the court of state inquisitors in the late republic of Venice, naval and commercial like Carthage, and once not less jealous of its constitution. To the *Pentarchy*, or council of five, and the *Centumvirate*, or council of a hundred and four, the lives and fortunes, and honours, of every individual in the community were subjected without appeal. The pentarchy elected its own members, and also

CHAP. IX.

filled up the vacancies that happened in the centumvirate. These two councils, thus permanent and immortal, not only formed the supreme judicature in all causes public and private, civil and criminal, but exercised a censorial and inquisitorial authority, for the purpose of watching over the safety of the government, and anticipating public delinquency. In the earlier and purer times of the commonwealth, these exorbitant powers should appear to have been seldom very shamefully abused. But the diffusion of wealth and luxury engendered turbulence in the people, and faction among the great. The principal offices, both civil and military, became scandalously venal. Rapacity is the inseparable companion of bribery; and a people that may be bought, are not far removed from a people that may be enslaved. To prevent or punish these growing evils gave new activity to the pentarchy and centumvirate; which, in their endeavours to repress the criminality of others, became themselves highly criminal; unjust judges, false accusers, and malignant inquisitors; raging with an excess of cruelty against offences merely suspected on the report of infamous spies; and punishing with equal severity the virtues which they hated, and the abilities which they feared.[92]

Bomilcar's punishment.

Bomilcar, instead of falling their victim, had determined to become both their judge and executioner. One part of his army, in which

[92] Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 46.

he had little confidence, was sent into Numidia, where it had been dispersed by Agathocles; another part of it watched the motions of that prince, who was then at no great distance from Carthage, and so wholly intent on the execution of his treacherous design against Ophellas, that he gave not any disturbance to the enemy. The remainder of his troops Bomilcar assembled in Neapolis, a place so nearly contiguous to Carthage, that it might be regarded as a suburb. They amounted to no more than five hundred citizens and four thousand mercenaries, in whom he could entirely confide. With this inconsiderable force, he ventured to enter Carthage, carrying with him such terror and havoc that the citizens never doubted that their gates had been betrayed to the Greeks. He advanced without resistance to the great market-place, with a view to destroy the tribunals with their obnoxious magistrates, and probably in the hope that the people would rise in his favour. But the people, who had beheld the butchery of unarmed citizens, mounted to the flat roofs of the lofty edifices which surrounded the market-place, and directed showers of darts on the murderers. Bomilcar led off his partisans towards Neapolis; and in retreating through narrow streets, whose inhabitants readily imitated the example of the Forum, only increased the evil which he hoped to avoid. He was obliged to shelter his men from the thickening volleys of missile weapons in a neighbouring tower. Thither the magistrates sent messengers, pro-

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

mising pardon to all concerned, on condition of an immediate surrender; for, having a public enemy at the gates, nothing was so important as to quell the sedition speedily. The capitulation was ratified by oaths, which were violated only in the person of Bomilcar. He was doomed to the fatal cross; where he died inveighing, as from a lofty tribunal, against the crimes and cruelties of his judges.[92]

Agathocles takes Utica. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

Had Agathocles been apprised of the treason meditated by Bomilcar, he might doubtless have turned it to his own advantage; and perhaps, through this rotten part of the state, have made himself master of Carthage. But the tyrant of Syracuse was as little informed of the conspiracy of Bomilcar against his country, as Bomilcar was acquainted with the conspiracy of Agathocles against Ophellas; and each was so wholly engrossed with his own scheme of villany, that neither had time to bestow the smallest attention on the proceedings of his antagonist. Agathocles endeavoured to compensate for the opportunity thus lost of assaulting the capital with a good prospect of success, by employing the reinforcement just acquired at the price of so much wickedness, in besieging the neighbouring towns of Utica and Hippo, the former situate fifteen miles, the latter above double that distance to the west of Carthage. He took both by storm; and his conquest was attended by the usual concomitants of pillage and slaughter. In

[92] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 44.

the siege of Utica, the eldest Phœnician colony on that coast[94], and long considered as the ally rather than the subject of Carthage. Agathocles did not desert his inveterate habits of cruelty. He had surprised in their country-houses three hundred Uticans, belonging to the richest and noblest families. They were suspended alive to the machines, armed with catapults, which he advanced against the walls; and thus exposed in the front of the battle, as butts to the missile weapons of the besieged, who could not resist the enemy's engines without piercing the bodies of their most respected friends. The interest of the public defence was preferred to private affection: the Uticans silenced the cries of nature, but the sacrifice did not avail them.[95]

Storms Hippo.

The storm of Hippo soon followed. That place is called by different names[96], whose sameness of signification is confirmed by the circumstance of a deep and broad lake, by which the town is defended on the south. On the north it is open to a bay, opposite to that of Utica. Agathocles entered the place after defeating the enemy's galleys at sea, and their small craft on the lake.[97] He was now master of all the maritime towns in those parts, except Carthage, and of all the inland country, except some districts of the perfidious Nomades, whose alliance was nearly as dangerous as their hostility. Having been informed that the eastern successors of

Assumes the title of king of Africa.

94 Aristot. de Mirabil.

95 Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

96 Hippo-acra, Diarrhytus, Zarytus.

97 Diodor. l. xx. s. 55.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander had recently declared themselves kings, he was unwilling to remain inferior in name, to those whom he equalled in extent of conquest. He therefore called himself king of Africa, but instead of assuming the diadem, still wore a priestly crown to conceal his baldness.[98]

Agathocles's voyage to Syracuse, and return to Africa. — Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

The tyrant was now at the summit of his fortune; and if his savage and sanguinary temper had admitted the co-operation of friends qualified to second his exertions, he might have been the Alexander of Africa. The dangerous state of his affairs in Sicily, of which he was at this time apprised, engaged him to sail thither in person, with some open vessels hastily constructed, and with only two thousand soldiers. His boldness was successful: he entered the harbour of Selinus, that of Syracuse being still blocked up by the Carthaginians, while the cause of public freedom and Sicilian independence made a progress most alarming to the tyrant in all parts of the island. But the presence of one man was soon marked by an important change of affairs. At the moment of his arrival, a detachment from his garrison of Syracuse defeated Zenodocus, the general of the Agrigentine confederacy. Agathocles broke that confederacy itself; made signal examples of Apollonia and other revolted cities; and by rapid marches from one side of the island to the other, again diffused through the whole of it, the terror of his arms.[99] Deinocrates, indeed,

[98] Diodor. l. xx. s. 54.

[99] Diodor. l. xx. s. 56.

still kept the field, and before Agathocles had time to reduce that leader of exiles, he was recalled to Africa by a state of affairs, not less critical than that which had brought him to Sicily; his son Archagathus having shown himself equally unqualified for supplying his place in the former, as his brother Antander had proved in the latter.

Eumachus, Agathocles's lieutenant, visits inland Africa.

Soon after the departure of Agathocles, Archagathus detached, from the forces in Tunes and its neighbourhood, eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, into the more remote parts of Numidia. The Carthaginians, previously sent to that quarter, appear to have fled on all sides before this formidable brigade. Eumachus, its commander, penetrated unknown regions, visited and conquered unknown cities, to some of which the Greeks gave names in their own language, expressive of the local peculiarities by which they were distinguished. One they called Phelliné, from its thick groves of shadowy cork-trees. The adjoining district (whose inhabitants were black as Ethiopians) they called Asphodelus, from the exuberant and beautiful daffodils that decked its fields[100]: three neighbouring towns they called Pithecussæ, because in these places, "apes were held in the same honour with which dogs are[101] venerated in Egypt." In Pithecussæ apes lived in the same houses with men, and fed in the same apartments; children were here named after apes, as

[100] Diodor. l. xx. s. 59. [101] Id. ibid.

CHAP. IX.

in Greece after the gods: to kill an ape was a capital offence; in a word, these animals were solemnly worshipped as divinities; and "to have drank the blood of an ape," was proverbially said of those who died by violence unrevenged, intimating, that for some enormous but secret guilt, they had been punished by this most dreadful calamity.[101] In the neighbourhood of this monkey land, the soldiers of Eumachus observed a lofty mountain, twenty miles long, and so much invested with innumerable wild cats, that it was said no kind of birds ever built their nests either on its trees or in its dens.[102] Such are the unimportant circumstances preserved concerning countries most worthy of curiosity, by a few ignorant soldiers, as incapable of observation as they were rapacious of plunder.

Complicated defeats of the Greeks.

This rapacity proved the ruin of the expedition. The Carthaginians, during the absence of Agathocles, made a new and vigorous effort for retrieving their affairs. The capital though loosely besieged, had received many inhabitants from the country, who came to enjoy the protection of its walls. Thirty thousand of these

[101] Diodor. l. xx. s. 58. "The large breed of Indian apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the Hindus; and fed with devotion by the Brachmans, who seem in two or three places on the banks of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment for the support of them. They live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle, and (I speak as an eye witness) appear to have some kind of order in their little sylvan policy!" Sir W. Jones, Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

[102] Id. ibid.

strangers, with the more idle and inactive part of the citizens, were armed in the public defence; and a considerable force under Himilco marched into Numidia. This detachment appears to have been joined by many Numidian horsemen, whose native fury was exasperated by resentment against the Greek invaders. The Numidians encountered the troops under Eumachus loaded with booty; and according to their custom engaged them in a running fight, during which, they were unexpectedly attacked by Himilco, who had lain concealed in a neighbouring village, and defeated with such slaughter, that no more than forty horsemen and thirty of the infantry escaped from the battle. Nearly about the same time, another body of Greeks was cut off by Hanno, in the inland part of the Libyphœnician territory. Archagathus was still master of the cities on the sea coast, near Tunes; but the disasters that had befallen his detachments, totally changed the disposition of his allies. The great body of Libyphœnician peasants were in arms. The Numidians were prepared to destroy the advanced parties, and to intercept the convoys of the Greeks. Their main army was pressed in flank and rear by the victorious Himilco and Hanno; who seized the usual passes leading into the country; while their colleague, Adherbal, formed a camp four miles from Tunes, and, with the assistance of the revolted sea-ports, excluded the Greeks from the coast.[103]

[103] Diodor. l. xx. s. 59, 60.

CHAP. IX.

Agathocles's stratagem, by which he defeats the Carthaginian fleet before Syracuse.

Agathocles was duly apprised of the disastrous condition of his army. Having equipped seventeen ships of war in the harbour of Syracuse, he watched the opportunity of escaping through a Carthaginian fleet of thirty sail in the road, which he effected with much brilliancy of success. The Tuscans, ancient rivals of the Carthaginians for the commerce of the western parts of the Mediterranean, were naturally the allies of Syracuse, with which they had long carried on an advantageous traffic. Eighteen of their vessels hovered at a distance on the Syracusan coast, and availed themselves of a dark night to get into the harbour unperceived by the enemy. This fortunate incident Agathocles improved with his usual dexterity. He desired the Tuscans to keep their concealed station, until his own vessels sailed forth and were pursued by the Carthaginians. The Tuscans according to this arrangement, then put to sea. Agathocles turned the beaks of his gallies on the pursuers. The Carthaginians, thus surprised between a double assault, were totally defeated with the loss of five ships of war, together with their whole crews. The Carthaginian admiral stabbed himself when his ship was taken; a premature act of despair, since a smart breeze swelling the main top-sail, enabled the vessel to make her escape.[104]

His precaution before

This unexpected victory opened the sea to Syracuse, which was thenceforth plentifully sup-

[104] Diodor. l. xx. s. 61.

plied with provisions; and enabled Agathocles to pursue without danger his navigation to Carthage. But a precaution, usual with him on such occasions, remained to be taken before he set sail. Five hundred obnoxious Syracusans were assembled on pretence of a public entertainment, and massacred by order of the tyrant, as persons most likely to disturb the government during his absence, and to co-operate with Deinocrates.

sailing to Carthage.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Agathocles saw that the melancholy advices from that quarter were not exaggerations. The immediate safety of his army required a battle. This, however, the enemy, who had seized all the most advantageous passes communicating with the adjacent country, was studious to avoid. The strength of Agathocles was still considerable. Besides his garrisons in Tunes and several other towns, which had not yet ventured to rebel, he had six thousand Greeks in his camp; and nearly an equal number of Italians, with whose country he had carefully maintained a correspondence ever since his first campaigns in Magna Græcia. His African troops were more numerous than both collectively: ten thousand foot, six thousand chariots of war, and fifteen hundred cavalry. At the head of this army, cooped up and impatient, and the Africans strongly inclined to revolt, he employed all his usual artifices for drawing the Carthaginians from their camp; and eagerly seized the first opportunity which they afforded him, of coming to an engagement,

Defeated there.

CHAP. IX.

though the ground was highly unfavourable. The Greeks under his immediate command behaved bravely. But after his Africans and mercenaries gave way, the Greeks were borne down by the weight of numbers. In the pursuit, the Carthaginians spared the Africans, but gave no quarter to the Greeks and Italians, who were easily known by their armour and of whom, before they reached their camp, about three thousand fell.[105] A few prisoners indeed were made, but not as an exception to general orders, since they were only saved for a purpose far more horrid than all the carnage of battle.

Conflagration of the Carthaginian camp.

They consisted of the tallest and handsomest of the Greeks, who were reserved as a burnt offering for Moloch or Saturn, whose portable house, or tabernacle, diffused a thick superstitious gloom in the midst of the Carthaginian camp, nearly contiguous to the general's tent. While the flames of this abominable rite mounted on high, a brisk wind brought them in contact first with the tabernacle of the god, and next with the pavilion of the commander. As the tents of the Carthaginians were made of matts or dried reeds, the whole camp was speedily in a blaze. The Carthaginians fled on all sides with their armour and most precious effects; many perished in the flames.

Defection in the camp of the

This disaster, which befel the Barbarians in the first watch of the night, was, by an extra-

[105] Diodor. l. xx. s. 64, 65.

ordinary coincidence, greatly aggravated by the defection, which at the same time happened in the camp of the Greeks. Five thousand Africans had begun, with the first darkness of night, to fly from the discomfited Agathocles to their victorious countrymen. Their approach was discovered by the Carthaginian videttes or scouts, and quickly communicated to the army now irregularly collected, and pursuing its hasty march towards Carthage. The Barbarians never doubted that the Greeks, having beheld the conflagration of their tents, had hastened to avail themselves of the consequent disorder. A sudden terror seized them. Darkness encreased the confusion: and in their scattered flight over a rough and intricate country, swelled by craggy rocks, and interrupted by walls and hedges, different parties mistook each other for enemies, and forced their opposite ways by adverse arms. Many rushed headlong over precipices; not less than five thousand are said to have fallen victims to this blind panic: and the remainder who reached Carthage, entered the gates in wild trepidation, as if they had been closely pursued by the enemy. The African deserters, meanwhile, who had occasioned all this terror, no sooner perceived the Carthaginian camp on fire, than they changed their first resolution, and began to return back under similar apprehensions to those which they inspired. The Greeks, who had not yet been apprised of their desertion, were informed of the movement of a great body of men, in their own neighbourhood.

CHAP. IX.

Greeks—its strange consequences.

CHAP. IX.

They beheld the distant conflagration; the tumultuary cries of the Carthaginians had distinctly reached their ears: it immediately occurred to them that the barbarians, intoxicated with their recent victory, had advanced against them with their whole forces, after setting fire by way of bravado to their own tents. Agathocles ordered his soldiers to arm. They rushed tumultuously from the camp, and the nearer view of the nocturnal conflagration increasing the general alarm, convinced them that their only resource was in immediate flight. One division of them encountered the African deserters, to the mutual consternation and with great destruction of both parties. Many scattering themselves at a distance on all sides of the camp, remained in lurking places for the whole night long; and the return of light only showed to the Greeks, as well as to the Carthaginians, how shamefully both of them had been deluded by empty terrors.[106]

Termination of Agathocles's war in Africa, and his return to Sicily. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

The morning, however, rose with very different prospects to the adverse armies. The Carthaginian forces were still entire, and continually augmenting by the daily return to duty of their revolted allies or rebellious subjects. The Greeks, on the other hand, being totally deserted by their African auxiliaries, and having lost four thousand men in the nocturnal tumult, and three thousand in the preceding battle, were reduced to a mere handful of soldiers in

[106] Diodor. l. xx. s. 67.

a hostile country, at once dispirited and mutinous, fearing the enemy, and angry with their general. Under such a reverse of fortune, Agathocles would readily have submitted to any terms of accommodation; but he suspected that the Carthaginians would be contented with nothing less than his absolute destruction. The movements of the tyrant's mind were rapid and decisive. He determined to embark secretly for Sicily with his younger son Heracleides, leaving Archagathus and his army to their fate. Archagathus discovered this design, and communicated it to the officers; the officers declared it to their troops; and mutiny ensued: Agathocles was seized and bound: but the sight of their general in bonds could not be endured by the soldiers: they relented, and released him: whereas, he, anxious only for his own escape from the Carthaginians, employed the first moment of liberty to embark in a small passage-boat, (though it was winter,) with a few sailors for Sicily. The army, having discovered his flight, put his sons to death, and chose new commanders who came to a capitulation on the following terms: that the towns yet possessed by the Greeks, should be surrendered on the payment of three hundred talents: that as many of the officers and soldiers as judged proper, should enter into the Carthaginian service, and be entitled to pay and promotion according to their rank and the rules established in the army: and that those who did not think fit to remain in Africa, should be

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

sent to Sicily, and have habitations assigned to them at Solois; a place formerly mentioned as one of the principal Carthaginian settlements in the island. These conditions, though highly acceptable to the camp, were rejected by the Grecian garrisons which still confided in the extraordinary resources of Agathocles. Their towns were stormed: the commanders crucified; and the soldiers, disgraced by fetters, were condemned to repair the effect of their own ravages, and to cultivate with incessant toil the lands which during four years of war they had continued to desolate. [107] Thus ended the expedition of Agathocles into Africa, which once promised to be as important in its consequences, as it certainly is memorable in its incidents.

Agathocles's cruelties in Egesta.

The return of Agathocles to Sicily was marked by such outrages as might be expected from cruelty exasperated by suffering. He landed near the western extremity of the island by the shortest voyage from Africa: and immediately sent orders to Syracuse, that a band of his faithful mercenaries should repair to his standard. They joined him near Egesta, a city at that time in alliance with Syracuse, containing ten thousand families and many of them opulent. Agathocles demanded their money. The Egestians hesitated to comply with this requisition. The tyrant's impatience brooked not delay. He massacred the largest portion of

[107] Diodor. l. xx. s. 68. & 69.

the citizens, and extracted from the remainder their hidden treasures, by tortures that in variety of contrivance are said to have rivalled the fabulous pains of Tartarus. To escape his execrable machinations many laid violent hands on themselves, and Egesta in one miserable day was completely desolated by the murder of its men and women, and by a sale of the boys and girls to the barbarous Brutii. A youth of singular beauty, named Mænon, was alone reserved for the domestic servitude of Agathocles. Mænon survived to avenge, by an action well becoming the favourite of a tyrant, both the destruction of his countrymen and his own disgrace. The walls and houses, however, still remained; and Egesta, under the protection of Agathocles and its new name Dicæopolis [108], became a receptacle for banditti and deserters [109], and a fertile seminary of mercenary assassins, naturally abounding in a country torn to pieces by foreign and domestic warfare.

And in Syracuse.

Syracuse, which had furnished instruments of vengeance against Egesta, experienced shortly afterwards the sad effects of the tyrant's fury. He was no sooner apprised of the murder of his two sons by his revolted army in Africa, than he sent orders to his brother Antander to destroy, without exception, the whole kindred of the rebels. The command was strictly executed; in some instances four generations of the same family were cut off in the same hour; and we

[108] The city of justice.

[109] Diodor. l. xx. s. 71.

CHAP. IX.

may indulge the pathetic exaggerations of a Sicilian, in describing the massacre as so dreadful that when the dead bodies were thrown into the sea, (for none ventured to acknowledge and bury them) the waters for a considerable distance from the shore were died red with blood.[110] These monstrous cruelties, which cried to heaven for vengeance, were punished in the first instance by the revolt of Pasiphilus, the tyrant's general; to whom, while his own brother Antander held the government of Syracuse, he trusted the command of Gela, and other important though subordinate cities. The defection of Pasiphilus, however, was occasioned not by his detestation of his master's crimes, but by an ill-founded contempt of his power. The tyrant, indeed, had lost an army in Africa: Deinocrates still bade him defiance in Sicily; and by his recent massacres, he had greatly diminished his own strength. Pasiphilus hoped by joining Deinocrates to give a decided preponderancy to the cause of public freedom and Sicilian independency, which that great master of artifice had so long and so ably supported. The tyrant acted as if he had felt this stroke with peculiar sensibility, and had believed that the defection of his lieutenant would prove the ruin of his affairs. He negociated at once with Deinocrates and the Carthaginians. To the former he offered to abdicate the government of Syracuse, and to restore

His treaty with the Carthaginians. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

[110] Diodor. l. xx. c. 72.

freedom to the citizens, and the exiles to their country. Tired of grandeur, he desired nothing but safety; for which purpose he required for his residence the two fortresses of Thermæ and Cephalœdion; the former deriving its name from the hot baths; the latter from its situation at the top of a lofty and almost inaccessible promontory: and both of them standing near the middle of the northern coast. To the Carthaginians he offered to guarantee that western division of the island which had formerly belonged to them; extending from the extreme limit of Lilybœum to Himera on the northern, and Heraclæa on the southern, shore. The Carthaginians, who earnestly wished to extend their footing in Sicily, sacrificed their resentment to their interest; and purchased a precarious alliance at the price of three hundred talents and two hundred thousand bushels of corn. [111]

His negociations with Deinocrates.

In the propositions made to Deinocrates, it is not easy to determine whether the tyrant was sincere. His monstrous crimes could not fail to anticipate dreadful punishment, as soon as he was stung by adversity. But knowing the character of the man with whom he had to negociate, he might also wish to expose him in his true light to the Sicilians. Deinocrates rejected his humble request, and disdained his advantageous offers. That Syracusan exile was at the head of an army of twenty-eight thou-

[111] Diodor. l. xx. s. 78.

CHAP. IX.

sand men, had many rich cities at his devotion, and enjoyed, under the name of a fugitive, the authority of a king. It was not his intention, therefore, to lay down his power, and to restore either independence to the Sicilian cities, or democracy to Syracuse: under which form of government he must have mingled with the crowd, and have thenceforth held his life, and every thing dear to him, at the will of turbulent demagogues and a capricious multitude. He therefore rejected all terms of accommodation with the tyrant, a circumstance which the latter immediately made known over the island, complaining that Deinocrates's ambition and obstinacy hindered the Sicilians from returning to their respective cities, and all those cities from being declared free and independent.[112]

Whom he defeats at Forgium. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

Expecting much benefit from this communication, Agathocles determined to venture a battle with five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, against an army four times as numerous. The scene of the action was near Forgium, an inland and now unknown mountain, but anciently remarkable as the haunt of vultures; and from which the Sicilian vultures derived their specific name. The battle was scarcely begun when above two thousand of Deinocrates's troops passed over to the side of Agathocles. This defection was followed by distrust and dismay in the whole army of allied Sicilians. They fled in

[112] Diodor. l. xx. s. 78.

scattered disorder. The tyrant, after a short pursuit, ordered the slaughter to cease, and proclamation to be made that the fugitives might return to their several homes. Many accepted this permission; others spread themselves over the country in the night; the cavalry escaped to the neighbouring but now unknown fortress of Ambicæ; and a body of seven thousand infantry posted themselves on a strong eminence, but capitulated on promise of safety, and descended from their fortress. Their false confidence was rewarded by an immediate and universal massacre. After this enormous perfidy, Agathocles received the remainder of the fugitives under his protection, and made peace with Deinocrates; who, having hitherto fought against him for more than a dozen years, became from this time forward his coadjutor and confident. Deinocrates was a man of the same stamp with himself; they thoroughly knew each other: the tyrant had saved his life in the first massacre at Syracuse; and the bond of their renewed friendship was the assassination of the too credulous Pasiphilus, whom Deinocrates, his late partner in arms, caught and murdered with his own hand at Gela.[113] Still, however, it is wonderful that two such monsters should have thenceforth continued mutually faithful. There must have been much vigilance on one side, and great patience on the other. The one, who was old, needed an active in-

[113] Diodor. l. xx. s. 90.

CHAP. IX.

strument; and the other, who was young, expected to inherit the power which he had helped to establish. In the space of two years all the cities in the island, except those situate within the jurisdiction of Carthage, were subjected to the tyrant of Syracuse, chiefly by the arms or artifices of Deinocrates.

Agathocles's subsequent transactions. Olymp. cxix. 1. cxxii. 4. B. C. 304. 289.

Agathocles respected his treaty with the Carthaginians for the present, only that he might infringe it in due time the more boldly. Among the concluding transactions of his reign, the principal bear a reference to this great design; a new invasion of Africa and the recovery of the laurels of his youth. With this view we find him strenuously employed in amassing treasure, collecting mercenaries, and equipping a powerful fleet. In his extensive plan of pillage, no corner, however obscure, was overlooked, no place, however sacred, was unviolated. The superstition of antiquity dwells with complacence on his impious invasion of the Liparean isles, because of the memorable and appropriate vengeance afterwards inflicted on him.[114] These islands derived their name from Lipara the largest, eight miles in length and twenty in circuit, and early planted by a Dorian colony from Cnidus.[115] They are seven[116] in number, situate

The Liparean isles.

[114] Diodor. l. xx. s. 101.

[115] Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. Τηνδε μετ' Αιολις εισι περιδρομοι εἰν ἁλι νησοι, &c. v. 461.

[116] Authors differ on this subject; but the number seven is assigned by Aristotle, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Dionysius Periegetes.

CHAP. IX.

between the distance of fifteen and forty-five miles from the northern coast of Sicily. Two of them still continue to emit fire, Vulcania and Strongylé; but they were all formerly volcanic, holding, as it was supposed, a secret commerce with Ætna, whose flames they alternately borrowed and supplied. Agathocles appeared before them with a fleet, exacting fifty talents for their ransom, and when the money fell short, despoiled their sacred treasuries of the dedications stamped with the awful names of Eolus and Vulcan. The god of the winds punished him by a storm which sunk eleven of his ships; and Vulcan only reserved his ire, to gratify it at last still more terribly.

Their violation by Agathocles.

With the same predatory views, the tyrant undertook different expeditions to the continent of Magna Græcia. In one of these he conquered and garrisoned the rich commercial city of Crotona; and in another he dispossessed the Brutii of the maritime town Hipponium, where he built a dock or arsenal. That no gleanings of gain might be lost, he lent vessels to the pirates who invested those coasts, and was strict in exacting his full share of their booty.[117]

Other predatory expeditions. Olymp. cxx. 2. B. C. 299.

Yet these minute attentions did not narrow his mind, or render him careless of the great transactions of the times. He maintained a correspondence with Alexander's successors, and connected himself with several of them by treaties and intermarriages. When the fortune

His transactions with Alexander's successors.

[117] Diodor. ibid.

CHAP. IX.

of Antigonus was predominant, he abetted the measures of that prince against Cassander and his allies, and burned the whole of a Macedonian fleet which besieged Corcyra.[118] His daughter Lanassa was married successively to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, and to Pyrrhus of Epirus. To the former of these princes, at that time master of Macedon, he sent his favourite son, who bore the same name with his father. Demetrius received the youth with kind and honourable courtesy, invested him, after the eastern fashion which he affected, with a royal garment; and under show of consolidating friendship with his father, sent him back loaded with presents, and accompanied by one of his own creatures and flatterers Oxythemis; whose real errand, however, was to spy out the land, and to survey the actual state of Sicily. The report must have conveyed a magnificent idea of the tyrant's power; for Agathocles, never losing sight of his designs against Carthage, had collected a great body of mercenaries, both Greeks and Italians, whose infamous history under their common name of Mamertines, will presently be related; and, besides other naval preparations, had equipped two hundred galleys of a large size, with four and six banks of oars.[119]

His grandson Archagathus.

But, before this mighty armament was ready to set sail, the tyrant died a death, suitable indeed to his life, if any death could have expiated his execrable and innumerable crimes. He had

[118] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491.

[119] Diodor. ibid.

a grandson, named Archagathus after his father who perished in Africa. This youth did not degenerate from his ancestors, being endowed with courage and craft, submissive ministers to an ambition as unprincipled as it was boundless. He now commanded an army encamped in the northern district of mount Ætna. The tyrant, in availing himself of his services, gradually discovered his character, and determined to remove him from command. As he himself was now in his seventy-second year, he had fixed the hopes of perpetuating his power on his son and namesake Agathocles, whom he had recommended to the Syracusans as their future king. He now sent him to the army, furnished with an order to receive the command from Archagathus. The latter feigned willingly to resign; sailed to one of the Liparean isles to perform a promised sacrifice; invited his uncle and successor to partake of the entertainments which usually accompanied that solemnity; and seized a favourable moment for plunging a dagger into his breast. The body of the younger Agathocles was thrown into the sea, and carried by the waves to the coast of Sicily, where it was recognized and sent to his father at Syracuse. [120]

CHAP. IX.

But the tyrant was by this time incapable of punishing the assassin. Archagathus, while he assumed to himself the part of murdering his uncle, had committed that of destroying his grandfather to Mænon of Egesta, who long

Death of Agathocles. Olymp. cxxii. 4. B.C. 289.

[120] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491.

CHAP. IX.

watched for an opportunity of avenging on the tyrant his own disgrace and the ruin of his country. The tyrant regularly after meals picked his teeth with a quill; this tooth-pick was usually supplied by his favourite Mænon, and on the present occasion was one so skilfully impoisoned, that the infection, after destroying his gums with excruciating torture, began in a few days to seize his vitals. While yet capable of speech, he summoned an assembly of the Syracusans, and arraigned the impiety of Archagathus, who had ruined both himself and his hopes; himself by poison, his appointed successor by assassination. He conjured his subjects to punish the parricide, and to re-establish and defend against him their hereditary democracy. Thus saying, he was carried from the tribunal and soon afterwards conveyed to the funeral pile, speechless yet breathing; a dire atonement (as history blushes not to relate) to Vulcan for his plundered temple. He lived seventy-two years, and reigned twenty-eight. His life was written by Timæus and Callias, both of them Sicilians: his brother Antander, also an historian, treated the same subject [121]; a dreadful subject for the pen of a brother!

His wife Theoxena.

When the tyrant was no more, his instruments remained; fleets, armies, arsenals, and treasuries. Immediately before his death, part, indeed, of his ill-gotten wealth had been consigned to Theoxena [122], the wife of his old age, and

[121] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. p. 491. [122] Justin, l. xxiii. c. 2.

daughter to Magas[123], who, upon the destruction of the usurper Ophellas, had been entrusted by Ptolemy Soter with the vice-royalty of Cyrené. To Magas, Theoxena returned with her children by Agathocles, who, had they remained in Syracuse after the death of that tyrant, would have been exposed to the rage of the multitude, or the more relentless cruelty of their kinsman Archagathus.

History of Sicily to the invasion of Pyrrhus. Olymp. cxxii. 4. cxxv. 4. B. C. 289. — 277.

Yet Archagathus himself did not long enjoy the fruits of his parricide. He was the victim of his accomplice Mænon; and the assassin assumed his power as commander of the mercenaries. The Syracusans shut their gates against the usurper; re-established their democracy; and chose Hicetas, a popular citizen, for their general. A war ensued between the new republic and the veteran hirelings of Agathocles; and the latter, being abetted by the Carthaginians, compelled the Syracusans to admit them within their city, and to acknowledge them as sharers in its honours. The new citizens, however, were viewed with extreme jealousy by the old; and as they were much inferior in point of numbers, they were generally foiled in all their competitions. Indignant at this treatment, they complained, threatened, and set themselves in readiness to take arms. Their sedition was with difficulty repressed by the seasonable interference of a few wise and equitable men, con-

[123] Magas was son, by a former obscure marriage, to Ptolemy Soter's admired queen, Berenicé.

CHAP. IX.

nected indeed in party with their adversaries, but whose impartiality had gained their confidence; and a compromise in the form of a regular treaty was made with them, in which it was stipulated that, upon receiving the full value of all their possessions, they should quit Syracuse and its dependencies. [124]

Agathocles's mercenaries under the name of Mamertines,—usurp Messené. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. B. C. 284.

Under the veil of this plausible transaction, many of the unprincipled soldiers cloaked a design of enormous wickedness. The greatest part of them belonged to Campania, the most infamous district in Italy, and in their frequent journies between their native country and southern Sicily, had often cast covetous eyes on the rich territory of Messené abounding with whatever could tempt their rapacity or allure their voluptuousness. Upon leaving Syracuse in terms of their agreement, they proceeded towards the Sicilian frith, with the apparent design of crossing the narrow [125] strait from Messené to Rhegium. At the former place, they were received kindly and treated generously, which unsuspecting bounty they repaid by an enormity decisively bold, and memorably successful. With one consent, they murdered their hosts and usurped their possessions. [126] By this sudden stroke, the last branch of the Messenians perished, a people whose long and compli-

[124] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13.

[125] By a comparison of the best authorities, ancient and modern, the narrowest part will be found to measure a mile and a half, English.

[126] Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

cated sufferings I had occasion in a former work to commemorate. Not a male beyond the age of puberty was left in the city or territory, which being thus fiercely occupied, were with equal fierceness maintained by a mixed band of ruffians, who from the prevalence of Campanians among them, assumed the name of Mamertines after Mars, the god of war, called Mamers in the provincial dialect of Campania.[127]

Wretched state of Sicily from this period to the invasion of Pyrrhus. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. cxxv. 4. B. C. 284. —277.

For the space of seven years, which elapsed from this horrid transaction to the arrival of the renowned Pyrrhus in Sicily, to assert his claims there as husband to Lanassa, and heir to Agathocles, the Mamertines, abetted by the Carthaginians, set their Greek neighbours at defiance, and exercised a sort of predatory dominion over the northern coasts of Sicily. As *their* ascendency prevailed, the Syracusans sunk in the scale. The ancient subjects of Syracuse, who had trembled at the name of Agathocles, threw off the yoke of the newly established democracy. Fraud or violence prevailed in every city; Phintias and Tyndarion domineered respectively in Agrigentum and Tauromenium; and during the seven years just mentioned, Sicily was variously deformed[128] by sedition, anarchy, the rashness of demagogues, the jealousy of tyrants, the merciless exactions of mercenaries, and finally by a cruel invasion from Carthage.

[127] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxi. s. 13. cum Not. Wesseling.

[128] Diodor. Eclog. l. xxii. s. 2. 11. Conf. Plut. in Pyrrho.

CHAP. X.

Disorders on the Death of Seleucus. — New Kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus. — Gauls prepare their Irruption. — Transactions preceding that Event: I. in the Kingdom of the Greeks, or Syria; II. in Egypt; III. in Macedon; IV. in Thrace; V. in Greece. — Gauls, their Migrations. — Arts and Manners. — Assail Macedon, and slay Keraunus. — Invade Greece. — Marvellously defeated at Delphi. — More probable Account of their Catastrophe. — Gallic Kingdom of Tulé. — Their ambulatory Dominion in Lesser Asia. — They establish themselves in New Gaul, or Galatia. — Their Pursuits in that Country, and improved Manners.

CHAP. X.

Disorders on the death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxvi. B. C. 280.

FORTY-ONE years had elapsed from the death of Alexander, when Seleucus, the last survivor among his generals, followed him to the grave. During this memorable period, the finest countries of Asia remained a spoil to the Macedonian captains, whose ambitious struggles with each other were unobstructed either by domestic rebellion, or by foreign invasion. But upon the death of Seleucus, as if the energy, infused by Alexander, had passed away with his immediate successors, the empire was assailed at once in its centre, and on its frontiers. Part of the controuling army had marched with Antiochus into the East; another part had crossed the Helles-

CHAP. X.

The new kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamus.

pont, into Macedon. Under these circumstances, several nations of Lesser Asia assumed arms and independence; particularly the inhabitants of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia; countries which contained an admixture of European blood, and which had subsisted, under the Persians, as hereditary satrapies.[1] Pergamus had a different origin from the other states erected at this time in the Peninsula. Philetærus, treasurer to Lysimachus, who had offered to resign his invaluable strong-hold to Seleucus, thought fit to appropriate and defend it upon the tragical death of this great prince.[2] His castle, through the judicious employment of the treasures which it contained, grew into the capital of a small territory. This was ably governed by Philetærus, for the space of twenty years[3], and by him peacefully transmitted to his nephew Eumenes; from which time forward, Pergamus was governed by princes named alternately Eumenes and Attalus; while Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia respectively acknowledged the lines of Nicomedes, Mithridates, and Ariarathes; hereditary names with their ancient satraps. The king of Bithynia fortified his residence, called from him Nicomedia, on the bay of Astakus: the royal army of Pontus, a kingdom afterwards so famous under the sixth Mithridates, occupied the banks of the Ther-

[1] Appian, Mithridat. c. 115, 116. Polyb. l. v. c. 43. Plutarch in Demet. & Memnon apud Phot. cod. xxi. et seq.

[2] Pausanias, l. ii. c. 10.

[3] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 623.

CHAP. X.

modon: Mazaca, on the river Melas, was the capital and main strong-hold of the Cappadocians.[4]

Irruption of the Gauls. Olymp. cxx B. C. 279.

Contemporary with the formation of these hostile states in the centre of the empire, an event happened of still greater magnitude, and which left deep and bloody impressions both in Europe and in Asia. This was the fierce irruption of the Gauls, which swept away the Greek kingdom laboriously erected by Lysimachus in Thrace; reduced Macedon to that condition of weakness and obscurity in which it had subsisted before the reign of Philip; and carrying desolation into Greece, threatened with total extinction her once-illustrious republics. From Europe the Gauls crossed the narrow seas into Asia, defeated and slew Antiochus, the unequal successor to Seleucus; long exercised a predatory dominion over his finest provinces, and finally usurped, in Lesser Asia, the large territory called from them Galatia. We shall proceed to relate this part of history, after briefly adverting to the transactions immediately preceding it, in the various divisions of the empire.

Transactions immediately preceding it.

I. In the kingdom of the Greeks.

Of this empire, Antiochus, from the vastness of his dominions, deserved to be regarded as the head. In his father's life-time, he reigned over a wide expanse of Upper Asia, then bridled by garrisons, enriched by marts of inland traffick, adorned in many places by Grecian arts and edifices, and confirmed in peaceful allegiance

[4] Strabo, l. xii. p. 568, & l. xiv. p. 663, & Memnon. apud Phot. p. 722.

under its Macedonian masters. Besides Syria, which he inherited, the huge square previously resigned to him, touching respectively on its four sides, the Euphrates, the Indus, the Arabian gulph, and the Caspian, was computed two centuries ago[5], to contain, under the general name of Persia, about five hundred cities, sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of inhabitants. If such indeed was its population, after a long succession of barbarous dynasties, how much more flourishing[6] must it have been, when, through the arrangements of Alexander, the Scythians and Arabs, those desolating Nomadic conquerors, were kept at a distance, and confined within their native deserts?[7] But, as if the passive submission of such dominions had diminished instead of augmenting their value, Antiochus was in haste to claim Macedon in virtue of the last victory of his father. In his progress westward, he had to encounter the Bithynians, and other rebels in Lesser Asia. The opposition which he found in that quarter, and which he

[5] Conf. Chardin. v. iii. c. 1. et seq. and Tavernier, v. i. p. 635.

[6] Even the mountainous tracts between the Caspian and the Indus, the roughest parts of the whole territory, contained many Greek cities. Appian, Syriac. and Strabo, passim. The satrapies subject to the kingdom of the Greeks, are stated in Maccabees at seventy-two: Artaxerxes boasted one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Esther, c. xvi. v. 1. Their number, for reasons above given, continually varied.

[7] The desolation has been progressive, for, by our latest travellers, Persia (the country between the Tigris and Indus), is computed to contain little more than twenty millions. But this cannot be correct, if the population of the kingdom of Caubul alone amounts to fourteen millions. See Mr. Elphinstone's Caubul.

CHAP. X.

was unable to overcome[8], made him transfer his court and army from the neighbourhood of the Tigris to that of the Orontes. Instead of Seleucia-Babylonia, Antioch was chosen for his residence, agreeably to a policy not unusual, of fixing the capital of empires near that frontier from which most danger is apprehended.[9] In the last twenty years of Seleucus, the natural advantages of Syria had been improved with the industry of art, and the zeal of affection; for the valley of the Orontes, extending ten days' journey from Antioch to Damascus, the snowy mountains from which it was refreshed, the lakes and rivers by which it was watered, revived, in the fancy of the Macedonians, the beloved image of their native country. This northern division of Syria was divided into districts, distinguished by Macedonian names, and adorned by Antioch, Laodicæa, Seleucia, and Pella; the last of which cities was afterwards called Apamea. The pastures of Syrian Pella exceeded in extent and fertility those of Pella in Macedon, and served, under the successor of Seleucus, to feed five hundred elephants, thirty thousand brood-mares, and three hundred stallions.[10] The place was crowded by soldiers, grooms, and riding-masters, and their innumerable scholars;

[8] Memnon apud Phot. and Appian, Syriac.

[9] "It may be observed of the capitals of states, in general, that such as are neither emporiums of commerce, nor meant as citadels in the last resort, are attracted, as it were, to the quarter from which hostility is either intended or expected." Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, Introduction, p. 48.

[10] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

and entirely dedicated to arms and exercises; while productive and commercial industry enriched the greater cities in its neighbourhood. Oppressed by the military despotism of the Mamelukes, this country, in the fourteenth century, is said to have contained sixty thousand villages [11]; a vague estimate, yet of use in the appreciation of its resources, under a wiser and milder administration. CHAP. X.

II. In Egypt

Egypt, by its detached situation, and the diligence of the first Ptolemy in fortifying it, was placed beyond the reach of the Gallic broad-sword. At the age of eighty-four, that able prince left his son Philadelphus, whom he had previously associated in power, sole master of Egypt and its dependencies in Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyrené, and Cyprus.[12] This second Ptolemy had now reigned four years, at peace abroad, firm in his government at home, and zealous to complete, as will be explained in due time, the great designs of his father with regard to every important branch either of domestic or foreign policy.

III. In Macedon.

The destiny of Macedon was totally the reverse of that of Egypt. From the death of Cassander, the events in the former kingdom, instead of resembling those of a regular monarchy, had exhibited all the wildest caprices of a licentious soldiery. By gaining this instrument of sedition, Ptolemy Keraunus had

[11] Histoire de Timur Bec, l. v. c. 20.

[12] Lucian in Macrob. Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 41. and Pausan. l. i. c. 7.

CHAP. X.

mounted a blood-stained throne, from which eight kings had been precipitated in the space of eighteen years. His title, unquestioned by the Macedonians, was disputed, however, by three foreign princes; Antiochus Soter, in right of his father Seleucus; Antigonus Gonatas, in right also of his father Demetrius; and Pyrrhus of Epirus, as partner in arms with Lysimachus, in the expulsion of Demetrius from Macedon.[13] The first of these princes was prevented from asserting his pretensions by the rebellion in Lesser Asia; and the adventurous Pyrrhus, in his habitual eagerness to abandon an old for a new project, was bribed into peace, by the loan of fifty elephants, five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, for the service of his Italian expedition.[14] Antigonus Gonatas thus remained Keraunus's only competitor. In compliance with the advice of his father, Antigonus had kept firm hold of his possessions in Greece, particularly of Corinth and Sicyon.[15] With an armament equipped in those harbours, he sailed towards Macedon. A decisive battle at sea was fought between him and Keraunus. Antigonus was completely defeated by the fleet of Pella, assisted by that of Heraclæa in Bithynia; a republic then in its highest bloom, warmly attached, as we have seen, to the house of Lysimachus, and whose alliance Keraunus had obtained by pretending to be the avenger of

[13] Conf. Plut. in Pyrrh. and in Demet.
[14] Id. in Pyrrho.
[15] Id. in Demet.

that prince[16], and the protector of his unfortunate family. It is worthy of remark, that among the ships assisting him from Heraclæa, many were provided with five and six tier of oars, and one with eight tier, bearing an hundred rowers on each. On the two sides of the vessel, there were thus sixteen hundred seamen, besides two pilots, and twelve hundred marines, who fought from the decks.[17]

Large size of the Heraclæan vessels.

Keraunus having in this manner repelled or eluded foreign hostility, had, however, one enemy behind, in the heart of his kingdom, his half-sister Arsinoé, the widow of Lysimachus, who, since the destruction of her husband, had remained shut up with her two sons in the city of Cassandria. The strength of the place might have made an obstinate resistance; and the unprincipled boldness of Arsinoé trembled at no crime for recovering her own greatness, or enforcing the claims of her children. To avoid the delays of a siege, Keraunus had recourse to artifice; he imputed his crimes only to love for Arsinoé, and solemnly swore, that if she consented to accept him as her husband, her sons by Lysimachus should inherit the throne. The profligacy of her own character might have taught this wretched woman to distrust the oaths of Keraunus. But she confided, perhaps, in her greater dexterity for anticipating

Keraunus murders his nephews in presence of their mother.

[16] See above, p. 64. the friendly connection between Lysimachus and Heraclæa.

[17] Memnon apud Photium, c. xiv. p. 718.

CHAP. X.

his crimes; or thought, more probably, nothing, save the seduction of her stepson Agathocles, beyond the power of her charms: Cassandria opened its gates: Arsinoé threw herself, as affianced, into the arms of her victorious brother; but amidst the preparations for the nuptial ceremony, the sons of Arsinoé, Lysimachus and Philip, one sixteen and the other thirteen years old, were butchered before their mother's eyes, by the execrable cruelty of their uncle.[18] By this monstrous deed, uniting the bloodiest ferocity with the basest perfidy, Keraunus completed a rapid series of prosperous crimes, which confirmed his sovereignty in Macedon, and sealed the title which he had assumed from the resistless celerity of thunder.[19] But in the space of a few months, he was himself doomed to swift destruction, by enemies not less deserving of that tremendous epithet.

IV. In Thrace.

During the short span allotted to him, he was alike busy in arms and intrigues. He had pretended to avenge Lysimachus in the blood of Seleucus; he now pretended to avenge Agathocles, by the murder of the sons of Arsinoé, since, for their sake, that virtuous prince had been abandoned to the rage of his step-mother by his unnatural father. As uniting in his own person the rights of Lysimachus and Agathocles, Keraunus, in addition to Macedon, claimed the

[18] Conf. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. & l. xxiv. c. 2.

[19] Pausanias, Attic. refers the origin of this name to his celerity; Memnon, to his ferocity. Excerpt. c. ix. p. 714. The furious Bajazet I. probably knew not that his title of Ilderim, had been anticipated by an ancient king of Macedon.

contiguous kingdom of Thrace; and, after defeating Antigonus Gonatas, he was eager to extend his dominion on the other side, by carrying his arms into Greece. But a prince whose crimes were palpable, and whose character was odious, found his authority too precarious at home, to make vigorous exertions abroad. The barbarous monarchy of Thrace, which Lysimachus had cemented with such unremitting labour, was in a moment dissolved. Each warlike chieftain trusted to the sword of his immediate dependents for a separate establishment. Under the hereditary names of Seuthes, Cotys, and Sitalces, the Thracians resumed their accustomed animosities, and repeated their ancient depredations, the tribe of the Bessi[20] spreading terror from mount Rhodopé, the Odrysæ[21] prevailing in the inland country, and the Sapæans[22] domineering over the seacoast. Blinded by their domestic feuds, they perceived not the arm of the Gauls uplifted, and ready to overwhelm them.

V. In Greece.

In Greece, which had long been a sport to the Macedonian captains, affairs assumed a new aspect. Its ancient republics again emerged from obscurity, through the weakness and disunion of their former masters. The recent disaster of Antigonus, in the attempt to recover

[20] Strabo, l. vii. p. 318. Et sua Bessi nive duriores. Paul. Nolan. Carm. v. 206.

[21] The most powerful tribe in Thrace, and whose name is often used as synonymous with that of the nation.

Mavors in prælia currus
Odrysia tellure vocat. Sil. Ital. l. iv. v. 432.

[22] Strabo, l. x. p. 457.

CHAP. X.

his father's kingdom of Macedon, lessened his ascendency in the Peloponnesus. The cities beyond the Isthmus expelled his deputies, whom they stigmatised as tyrants. Athens, under her admired Callippus[23], once more despising danger, panted for glory. The Achæans renewed their confederacy of virtue and liberty[24]; the Etolians were always ready to associate in leagues of rapacity and revenge. Such was the general state of the empire in its principal divisions, from the Indus to the Ionian sea, when the western and most warlike frontier was assailed by an enemy, hitherto little known in those parts, and therefore the more terrible.

Gaul.

The spacious square, called Galatia, or Gallia, by the ancients, was comprehended, in one direction, between the English channel and the Mediterranean; and in another, between the Bay of Biscay and the Rhine. Its two southern corners were fortified by the natural bulwarks of the Alps and Pyrenees. This ample and compact territory was, in all ages, distinguished by the roving inconstancy and martial enterprise of the Galatians, Gauls, or Celts[25], its imme-

[23] Pausanias, l. ii. p. 4. [24] Plutarch in Arat.

[25] Unlike as the words Galatians and Celts sound to an English ear, they are clearly the same. According to the analogy of the language spoken by the Gauls inhabiting Lesser Asia, the *e* in the word denoting *Celts*, plural, is changed from *a* in the singular. From Calta to Galta and Galata, the transition is easy, as the difference is rather in the writing than in the pronunciation. The name of Celtæ or Galli is applied, either generally to the whole inhabitants of Gaul, (Vid. Strabo, l. iv. & l. vii.) or particularly to one of the three great divisions of people inhabiting that country. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. 1.

morial inhabitants. Three centuries before the migration whose consequences we are going to explain, history records how the Gallic tribes, actuated by their habitual restlessness, penetrated into the northern valleys of the Alps, where the vast abundance of wood for fuel and for building, with rich specks of intermediate pasture, induced them to take up their temporary abode, until moved, with the desire of exploring what lay beyond those regions of snow and solitude, some daring adventurers, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, insinuated themselves through the windings of the Tyrol, and passing one mountain after another, poured from the Rhetian rocks into the soft bosom of Italy.[26] The beauties of the delicious plain, into which they had suddenly descended, affected them the more powerfully, as they still affect every traveller[27], by contrast with the dark dens and rugged mountains which they had left behind. When news of their successful boldness reached their longing countrymen, ever discontented at home, the standard of foreign enterprise was crowded by new multitudes, who invaded, conquered, and colonised part of the territory between the Alps and Apennines, then cultivated by the Tuscans; from which, careless of every art but agriculture and arms, the Gauls diffused terror on all sides around them: compelled the neighbouring nations of Italy to receive their

Ancient emigrations of its natives.

Their conquests in Italy and struggle with Rome.

[26] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 17—33. et seq.

[27] I speak from a warm recollection of my own feelings.

CHAP. X.

yoke; and about a century before the period which forms our present subject, sacked the less fortified part of Rome; and were on the point of storming the citadel. But fortune watched over the safety of this illustrious commonwealth, and rescued her feeble infancy from the gripe of those sanguinary assailants. The Veneti, a people agreeing with the Gallic invaders in appearance and manners, but differing from them in language, had made an irruption into their domestic territories[28], and retorted their cruel devastations. The Gauls, stung with rage at this aggression, abandoned their new conquests; and flew to defend their homes, their household gods, and helpless families. On many future occasions they marched southward to Latium, and with the assistance of their brethren beyond the Alps, desolated the open country, and conquered in several battles[29]; but they never had reason to rejoice in the result of a single campaign; and their struggle with Rome, for the dominion of Italy, during a period of an hundred and sixty-five years[30], exhibits the unequal conflict of brutal ferocity and wild enterprise, against disciplined valour and deep-working policy.

[28] Polyb. l. ii. c. 17, 18. The Veneti, according to Strabo, l. iv. p. 194. were a Belgic nation: and the Belgæ, who were the bravest people in Gaul, differed in language from the Celtæ and Aquitani; the two other nations by whom Gaul was inhabited. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. 1.

[29] Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 18. et seq. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 9. et seq. l. viii. c. 20. l. x. c. 27. et seq.

[30] Rome was sacked, Olymp. xcvii. 3. B. C. 390. The decisive victory of Æmilius Papus was gained, Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

CHAP. X.

Their invasion of the countries south of the Danube.

The lofty destiny of the power with which they so long contended, gives an interest to the *Italian* Gauls, which their *Illyrian* brethren possess inherently in themselves, from the strangeness and variety of their adventures. In modern times, navigation is perpetually discovering new lands, but in remote ages of antiquity, the spirit of emigration was only to be checked by the discovery of new and impassable seas. Could we make a fair estimate of the dangers encountered, and the obstacles overcome, the courage of the Gauls in penetrating from the confines of the Rhine to those of the Euxine, after exploring the gloom of the Hercynian forest, and settling their colony of Boii in the delightful irriguous district still commemorating this event in its name of Bohemia[31], would not perhaps be disgraced by a comparison with the boasted exploits of our most celebrated mariners. In the expedition of those fierce tribes, which invaded the Macedonian empire, no notice however is taken of their contrivances for passing the Danube, nor the smallest hint dropped of any hostilities between them and the Germans. Though the vague language of antiquity brings them from the extremities of the ocean, from coasts repelling approach by rocks, tides, and sea-monsters[32], it should seem more probable that they marched

[31] Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. The word is plainly German, Boienheim.

[32] Pausanias, Attic. l. i. c. 3. Horace had before said,

Te *belluosus* qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis, &c.

L. iv. Ode 14.

CHAP. X.

immediately from the provinces south of the Danube; from Noricum, Pannonia, or Illyricum.

Their arts and manners.

But the inquiry into what they were, is more important than the question, from whence they came. The most curious indeed of the Greeks acknowledge their very imperfect[33] information, concerning those great divisions of Europe, which, in modern times, have been cultivated and improved into flourishing and powerful kingdoms. From the notices which they afford, we can only infer, that the inhabitants of Gaul, like those of Britain, Spain, and Germany, subsisted in that middle state of barbarism, which, though elevated above the penury and gloom of savage life, was still further removed from the dignity and elegance of enlightened commonwealths. Their uncouth appearance, ferocious manners, and abominable superstitions, which made historians hesitate, whether the Gauls had not a natural unfitness for civilization, were accompanied, however, with such knowledge in the arts appertaining to war and agriculture, as usually denote a considerable degree of improvement in legislation and policy. The use of iron and copper was familiar in their instruments or implements; the ore collected from the foaming

[33] Polyb. l. iii. c. 38. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. & iv. The distinction between the Gauls and Germans is particularly obscure. The latter, according to Strabo, l. vii. p. 290. were called *Germani* by the Romans, to express their genuine affinity with the Gauls. The Belgæ, the bravest nation in Gaul, Cæsar says, were descended chiefly from Germans. De Bell. Gallic. l. ii. c. 4.

CHAP. X.

torrents of their rivers was smelted into gold for the ornaments of both sexes[34]; their houses, though formed wholly of wood, were so firmly constructed as to repel the inclemencies of a northern sky; and they had provided useful animals in such abundance, that the flower of their military force consisted in cavalry.[35] In this last particular, they agreed with the Germans, with whom, in all other respects, those tribes[36] of the Gauls, at least, who invaded the Macedonian empire, should seem to have had much affinity. Their complexions, like those of the Germans, were fair; their long hair was for the most part red, which colour both nations heightened by art[37]; and the Gauls as well as Germans were dreadfully distinguished by gigantic stature and unbridled ferocity. In their military expeditions, each Gallic horseman was accompanied by two retainers, also mounted; one of whom assisted his master when unhorsed or wounded, and the other instantly succeeded to his place in the ranks. This singular arrangement was expressed by a word, which, like all the remains of the dialect of those Gauls, exactly corresponds with the language still spoken in Germany.[38] The armour of their foot-soldiers

Persons, armour, and tactics.

[34] Diodor. l. v. c. 27.

[35] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20. Conf. Diodorus, l. v. s. 29. and Strabo, l. iv. p. 196.

[36] Strabo, loc. citat. extends the observation to the Gauls in general. Conf. l. vii. p. 290.

[37] Diodor. l. v. s. 28.

[38] Τουτο ωνομαζον το συνταγμα τριμαρκισιαν, or, a better reading, τριμαρρισιαν. Pausan. Phocic. c. ix. p. 645. Edit. Xyland. Tri-

CHAP. X.

was suitable to their persons, and like them more remarkable for magnitude than firmness.[39] Their gæsa were missile weapons, consisting of a wooden rod tipped with iron.[40] Having thrown the gæsum, the Gaul had recourse to his broad-sword[41], which differed essentially from the swords of Greece and Italy, in being formed, not to pierce or thrust, but chiefly to hack or strike, and therefore less fitted to inflict a dangerous wound, while the uplifted arm, by which it was brandished, invited the pointed weapon of a dextrous adversary.[42] To ward off this danger, the Gaul interposed the orb of an ample though light buckler, his defence in war, his ornament in peace; for though his neck and arms were adorned by a golden collar and bracelets, yet the emblems, described on his Thyrius or shield, were the specific indications of his merit and renown.[43] To paint or carve these emblems, consisting in rude resemblances of fierce animals[44], afforded an agreeable employment to his

marrisia, the termination is Greek, but the word evidently compounded of *drey*, three, and *mahr*, a horse. Yet the same Greek word is allied to the Cornish *marh*, the Welch and Armoric *march*, and the Scotch or Irish *marc*. Many words being common to the Teutonic and Celtic, little is to be built on such etymologies.

[39] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 42.

[40] They were much used in fowling. Strabo, l. iv. p. 136.

[41] Αντι δε τυ ξιφες σπαθας εχεσι. Ibid. c. 30. The word σπαθα has passed to the modern Italians, "spada," through their admixture with the Gauls.

[42] Veget. de Re Milit. l. i. c. 12. The Romans were taught "punctim non cæsim ferire," to thrust, not to cut or hack.

[43] Θυρεοις ανδρομηκεσι ποικιλμενοις ιδιοτροπως. Diodor. l. v. c. 30.

[44] Thence the word expressing their shield from the German word *Thier*, a wild beast.

CHAP. X.

leisure. Each noble warrior was distinguished by his peculiar coat of arms, commemorating the glory of his ancestors or his own; and according to careful observers of human manners, the Gauls, like most ignorant Barbarians, were extravagantly fond of finery, and totally corrupted by ostentation and vanity; vices which rendered them insolent in prosperity, and meanly abject under the first reverse of fortune.[45]

Coats of arms.

Both parts of their character are illustrated in their transactions with the Greeks. The behaviour of their ambassadors to Alexander, while that conqueror was encamped near the Danube, made him say contemptuously, "The Gauls are an arrogant people." The glory of the Macedonian hero repressed the hostility of neighbours, who, under the pretence of embassies, explored an opportunity for inroads.

Boastful character.

Their first expedition into Thrace was conducted by Cambaules in the reign of Lysimachus. The invaders proceeded to the foot of mount Hæmus, but the reception which they met with, made them retreat precipitately homewards. They resumed their undertaking during the bloody and distracted usurpation of Ptolemy Keraunus.[46] At that period, so favourable to their views, the Gauls under three distinguished leaders poured into Thrace and

They invade Macedon and slay Keraunus. Olymp. cxxv. 2. B. C. 279.

[45] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i. c. 4. & Polybius, l. ii. c. 32. et seq. & l. iii. c. 75. & Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28. et passim. Strabo, l. iv. p. 195, is more favourable to the Gauls, calling them a simple people and without malice, ἁπλεῖν καὶ ἀκακοηθεῖς.

[46] Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

CHAP. X.

Macedon; the former country was ravaged by Cerethrius, the latter fell a prey to Belgius and to Brennus. The petty chieftains of Thrace, who had recently emancipated themselves, as we have seen, from Keraunus, sought refuge in their walls and fastnesses. The inhabitants of Pæonia beheld from their battlements the sword of Brennus raging uncontrouled in that northern division of Macedon. Belgius carried desolation into the southern provinces; but had not the rashness of Keraunus equalled his cruelty, Pella, Dium, and other strong-holds might have sheltered his army and subjects, until the Gallic hurricane had spent its rage. But the mad Keraunus, who, in the language of an ancient historian, thought it as easy to gain victories as to commit crimes[47], hurried inconsiderately to the field. The Macedonians were broken and put to flight by enemies far inferior to themselves both in armour and in discipline. Ptolemy, fighting on an elephant[48], was wounded and made captive. His dead body became a sport to the Gauls; and his head, being fixed on a lance, was carried through their ranks in barbaric triumph.[49]

They are repelled by Sosthenes, but return with increased numbers.

Upon the death of this odious usurper, the Macedonians, to resist the torrent of invasion, elected a new king or general. Meleager reigned two months; his successor Antipater was denominated the Etesian, because his com-

[47] Justin, l. xxiv. c. 4.

[48] Memnon apud Phot. c. xv. p. 718.

[49] Pausan. l. x. c. 19.

CHAP. X.

mand lasted forty-five days[50], the ordinary period of the Etesian winds. Sosthenes, a man adored by the multitude[51], assumed the helm of government, skilfully eluded the assailing tempest, watched his opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage, defeated the Gauls in battle, and slew Belgius their leader. But this gleam of prosperity was soon overcast. The invaders retreated to their brethren, still employed in ravaging Pæonia and Thrace; and, from thence proceeding to their possessions near the Danube, tempted their countrymen, who had hitherto declined the expedition, with alluring accounts of Macedon; of the wealth and luxury of its cities, the lofty grandeur of its palaces, the splendour and magnificence of its temples. To their rude eloquence, they are said to have joined the artifice of exposing the most puny of their Macedonian captives covered with rags, in contrast with the tallest of the Gallic youth gayly ornamented and proudly armed.[52] Animated with the hope of an easy conquest, the Gauls prepared for emigration in swarms, compared poetically by Callimachus to the twinkling stars of a winter's night, and with less philosophical inaccuracy to the thick descending flakes of drifted snow.[53] History computes their number at an hundred and fifty-

Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

[50] Diodor. Fragm. l. xxi. p. 641.

[51] Δημοτικος will bear this sense, though Justin translates ignobili; very inconsistently, since he had just before called him "unus ex principibus, l. xxiv. c. 5.

[52] Polyænus, l. vii. c. 35.

[53] Hymn. in Delum.

CHAP. X.

two thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry.[54] But in their march towards Macedon a sedition divided this mighty host: Leonorus and Lutarius with their followers diverged to Cerethrius on the coast of Thrace, laid Byzantium and other maritime cities in its neighbourhood under heavy contributions, and being joined by new swarms from the Danube, founded the Gallic kingdom of Tulé[55], extending from the foot of mount Hæmus to the Propontis, and which lasted from this time forward during a period of sixty years, when it was overturned by a rebellion of the Thracians.

The Gauls invade Greece. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

Meanwhile Brennus and Acichorius, commanding the main body of their countrymen, pursued their journey to the Macedonian capital, defeated and slew Sosthenes[56]; and having ravaged Macedon, entered Thessaly, cruelly desolating the country, and plundering the temples with sportive insult. After marching unobstructed through so many warlike nations, and vanquishing the Macedonians who had often conquered Greece, they expected not to meet with any considerable resistance in that country. But the Greeks who had sunk under the military preponderancy of Alexander's immediate successors, began to emerge amidst the

[54] Justin, l. xxiv. c. 6. but each warrior, as said above, was followed by two attendants, so that the whole number of horsemen amounted to 45,000.

[55] Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. Cavarus was the last Gaul who reigned in Thrace. Polyb. l. iv. c. 46. & 52. Conf. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. vi. p. 252.

[56] Pausanias, l. x. c. 19.

CHAP. X.

weakness and impolicy of those who came after them. To oppose the Gauls, they collected a greater force than that with which, in their brightest ages, they had resisted the invasions of the Persians. Twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the cavalry of the Etolians, whose number is not specified in history, assembled in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ.[57] This army was furnished solely by the states beyond the Isthmus. As the Gauls had not a fleet, the Peloponnesians provided for their safety by fortifying the narrow inlet to their peninsula; and Antigonus Gonatas, who still held Corinth and several neighbouring cities, reinforced but sparingly the confederates at Thermopylæ, commanded by Callippus the Athenian. The Gauls having proceeded to Magnesia in Thessaly, sent advanced parties to Phthiotis, another district in that country; and prepared to pass the Sperchius, a deep and broad river, which flows from the roots of mount Œta into the Malian gulph.

Are resisted by a greater force than that raised against the Persians.

Callippus detached a body of horse and light infantry to destroy the bridges on the river. This service was effected with ease, but without any advantage; for Brennus immediately advanced many thousands of his tallest men, who, as the Sperchius expands and grows shallow towards its mouth, either waded over, or swam across the stream, by the aid of their broad and

They pass the Sperchius and ravage Phthiotis.

57 Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

CHAP. X.

buoyant bucklers.[58] The Greek detachment fell back to the camp of Thermopylæ; and the Gauls, now masters of the Malian gulph, compelled the inhabitants of its shores to build new bridges, conducted their main army across the Sperchius, and ravaged without mercy the whole territory of Heraclæa; a city built by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian war, near ancient Trachis in Phthiotis[59], which now lay in ruins. The invaders spared neither age nor sex in the open country. They waited not, however, to besiege the city into which the Etolians had recently thrown a considerable garrison; but passing contemptuously under its walls, hastened to dislodge the Greeks from Thermopylæ.[60]

Are defeated and repelled at Thermopylæ.

As the invaders were ignorant of the roads leading from Thessaly to Phocis across mount Œta, they followed the narrow tract confined between the eastern extremities of that mountain and the slimy marine marsh formed by the tides of the Malian gulph. From a source of hot waters about half-way between the entrance and issue of the defile, the whole tract is called the Straits of Thermopylæ, extending seven English miles in length; and at the northern extremity forty-eight feet wide; swelling to the breadth of forty fathoms towards the middle, and again contracting at Alpenus to a narrow pass of only eight feet[61], which, opened

[58] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.
[59] Conf. Thucydid. l. iii. p. 240. & 263. and Strabo, l. ix. p. 295.
[60] Pausanias, ibid.
[61] Herodot. l. vii. c. 176. et seq.

into the woody lawn of Bessa. In such ground, neither the cavalry nor the vast numbers of the Gauls could avail them. The bravest of their infantry rushed with loud shouts and blind fury to the straits, where the heavy-armed Greeks resisted them in front, while their flanks were galled by missile weapons from the light troops conveniently posted on the adjacent hills, and from a large Athenian fleet which had come to anchor in the Malian gulph. Their limber *Thyrii* formed ineffectual defences against the weight and sharpness of iron javelins; and their cutting broad-swords were ill fitted to contend with the points of Grecian spears. Enraged to madness by disappointment and pain, many tore from their flesh the darts by which they had been wounded, and furiously retorted them on the enemy. But as their progress was completely checked, they grew tired of suffering in vain, and retreated more precipitately than they had advanced, trampling down each other on the sides of the mountain, or sinking irrecoverably in the oosy marsh. The victors declined to pursue them into the Trachinian plain, where their superiority of numbers might have again rendered them formidable. They were contented to have repelled, with little loss to themselves, those inhuman Barbarians, at whose stupidity they wondered, in their neglect before battle, of every mode of divination or augury; at whose impiety they shuddered, in their unconcern after defeat, about recovering the bodies of their slain.[62]

CHAP. X.

[62] Pausanias, l. x. c. 20.

CHAP. X.

Seven days elapsed before the Gauls renewed their attempts for penetrating into Phocis, and then not by Thermopylæ, but by an abrupt mountainous path leading to the ruins of Trachis, and a rich temple of Minerva, which they purposed to plunder on their way. The traitors, or fugitives, from whom they obtained notice of this road, had neglected to inform them, that it was strongly guarded. They were attacked unexpectedly, and repelled. Brennus having learned that the Etolians were more numerous than other divisions of the confederates, determined to cause a diversion by invading Etolia. Forty thousand men were detached under Orestorius and Camburis, the fiercest and most sanguinary of the Gallic chiefs. They repassed the Sperchius, traversed Thessaly in haste, and entering the devoted province of Etolia, desolated it most dreadfully by fire and sword. Having taken the city Callion, in the valley watered by the Evenus, between mounts Pindus and Tymphrestus, they killed the men, violated the women, and ate the children; aggravating[63], it is said, even these brutal enormities by deeds too shocking to be described, and too monstrous to be easily believed. Their merciless invasion drew the Etolians home: who, assisted by the Achæans of Patræ, from the opposite side of the Corinthian gulph, encountered the Gauls as they returned in triumph, loaded with the spoils of their houses and temples.

Enormities committed by the Gauls in the valley Callion.

Revenged on them by the Etolians.

[63] Pausanias, l. x. c. 22. p. 650.

CHAP. X.

These desolating invaders were defeated with great slaughter, and almost entirely destroyed in their retreat, the whole inhabitans of Etolia, old men, and even women, deriving such vigour from revenge, as enabled them to overwhelm with just and swift punishment inhuman Barbarians, who, in their frightful proceedings at Callion, had surpassed the horrid feasts of the Cyclops and Lestrigons.[64]

The Gauls turn the Grecian army by passing Mount Œta.

Meanwhile Brennus remained not inactive at Thermopylæ. The inhabitants of the districts around his camp, willing by any means, however unwarrantable, to rid themselves of such dreadful guests, offered to conduct him into Phocis by a middle path, more spacious than the road along the sea-shore, and more easy of ascent than the passage by Trachis. He consented to follow them with above forty thousand men, after leaving Acichorius in his camp, with orders to renew the assault at Thermopylæ, as soon as he himself should have crossed the mountains. The track, which Brennus now pursued, was the same by which the Persian Hydarnes turned the invincible army of Leonidas. It lay across thick forests of oaks, and was guarded by a detachment of Phocians. The day that Brennus with the best half of his army ascended the mountain, was darkened by such a thick fog, that the Gauls were first discovered by raising their shout of war, which preceded the general discharge of their *gæsa*. The Phocians, in provid-

[64] Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

CHAP. X.

ing for their own safety, neglected not that of their confederates at Thermopylæ, now in danger of being crushed between the assault of Acichorius in front, and that of Brennus in rear. They flew to their allies; apprised them of their danger: the Athenian fleet still anchored on the coast; the Greeks embarked, and sailed to the defence of their respective territories.[65]

They march against Delphi. Olymp. cxxv. 3. B. C. 278.

The golden treasures of Delphi attracted the avidity of Brennus. Without waiting for Acichorius, whose progress had been interrupted chiefly through the desperate exertions of the Etolians, he advanced to plunder the temple, the rich seat of commerce[66] and superstition. Already he perceived at a distance the fantastic tops of Parnassus, overshadowing the sacred city. At length Delphi rose to view in form of an amphitheatre, extending two miles in circumference, destitute of walls, but sufficiently defended by the awfulness of the place and the majesty of its oracle. The Gauls carelessly regarded the towering summits and deep caverns of Parnassus: they beheld without emotion the rude and shapeless mount Cirphis, pouring forth the foaming Plistus. But the shining ornaments of the temple which crowned, as it were, the city; with the bright statues disposed on different terraces and irradiating the spacious streets to which they respectively pointed, inflamed the rapacity of robbers, who, though

[65] Pausanias, l. x. c. 22.

[66] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5.

they neither admired nor understood the forms of art, yet coveted, as inestimable, its glittering materials.[67] They rushed forward to seize those golden or rather gilded images, defended only by the Delphic priests and citizens, and four thousand Phocians and Etolians who had hastened to their assistance. But, according to the most circumstantial narrative of the Gallic invasion, aid, more powerful than mortal arm can afford, defended the city of Apollo. It was winter: a collecting tempest exploded; the ground shook with a palpable and long-continued motion; amidst tremendous peals of thunder, the temples of Delphi opened spontaneously; and the venerable forms of ancient heroes and armed virgins opposed, with adverse front, the impious assailants. As darkness approached, the Gauls were overtaken by more substantial evils, benumming cold and an extraordinary fall of snow, which, overloading the craggs of Parnassus, hurled them from their bases, and buried many wretched victims under the ponderous *avalanche*. At dawn, Brennus hastened to remove from a scene of terror, equally intolerable to his senses and his fancy. But his march was obstructed in front by a body of auxiliary pikemen, while his flanks and rear were harassed by the enraged Phocians themselves, who, being well acquainted with the intricate sinuosities of the mountains, issued unexpectedly like dæmons of vengeance from their winding and snowy paths. At

Marvellous interposition in favour of the sacred city, and dreadful destruction of the Gauls.

[67] See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5.

CHAP. X.

the head of his guards, distinguished by their strength and stature, and whose courage not even the manifest wrath of the gods could appal, Brennus fought valiantly till disabled by his wounds. The guards then gave way, carrying off their bleeding chief, and augmented the tumultuous rout of their disbanded army. All next day, they pursued their dreary flight through dangerous roads and deserted villages, from which the Greeks had carefully removed every necessary of life. When night returned, they were seized with a panic terror, which directed their arms against each other. Brennus died by his own hand. His wretched followers, having joined the harassed division of their countrymen under Acichorius, fell into an ambush laid for them by the Athenians and Bœotians in their way to Heraclæa. A part, however, reached the camp in that place, where a detachment had remained to guard the booty previously collected. The camp was raised; the remnant of the Gallic invaders repassed the Sperchius; but in Thessaly they had to encounter a new ambush, and were totally destroyed.[68]

More probable account of that catastrophe.

Such is the narrative of Pausanias, which the Delphians might propagate from interest, which the Greeks might believe through superstition, and which friends to the Gauls might admit as the best apology for their shameful defeat. But an historian, more respectable than Pausanias,

[68] Pausanias, l. x. c. 23.

informs us that, instead of entirely perishing in their Grecian expedition, many Gauls rejoined their brethren in Thrace, and united with them in their newly established kingdom of Tulé.[69] As the marvellous and total destruction of the invaders is not a matter of fact, so our knowledge of the Delphian priests will not justify the supposition that the losses really sustained by the enemy were produced by supernatural interference. To encourage their countrymen, the priests of Apollo, indeed, published a decree, that "the god would protect his temple;" but instead of committing their interests to heaven alone, they appear to have themselves defended them with admirable dexterity. After a fatiguing march across craggy mountains, the Gauls, it should seem, found the Delphian villages destitute of inhabitants, but copiously replenished with strong wine; a temptation which even their thirst for gold was altogether unable to resist. They were defeated, therefore, by their own intemperance[70], and disturbed in their senses, before they were assailed by tempests, shaken by earthquakes, and repelled by armed divinities.

Subsequent fortunes of the Gauls.

The disastrous expedition of the Gauls into Greece proved to that fierce nation but a tran-

[69] Conf. Polyb. l. i. c. 6. & l. ii. c. 20. & l. iv. c. 46. and Athen. Deipn. l. vi. p. 234.

[70] They could not resist the temptations of a delicious country, the luxuriant fruits of the Crissæan plain, the rich wines produced from the sun-beat rocks of Delphi, Δελφιδες ακραι. Callimac. in Delum, v. 177. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 5. With such Barbarians, the present passion is always the most powerful.

CHAP. X.

sient misfortune. For the space of forty years after that event, they continued, from their kingdom of Tulé, to harass the neighbouring countries of Europe and of Asia. Their numbers, which poured into the latter, equalled, perhaps surpassed, those of the Macedonian conquerors. As they were frequently augmented by new swarms from home, they seized, desolated, and abandoned large tracts of territory, laid the richest provinces under heavy contributions, and interfered with a high hand in the affairs of Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. During the whole course of their ambulatory dominion, they were vexatious to their neighbours, merciless to their enemies, and treacherous to their allies; often selling their troops to rival powers; easily quitting one service for another; and, in all this infamous traffic of blood, uniformly preferring the highest bidder.[71] The first Antiochus king of Syria gained a battle over the Gauls from which he obtained his title of Soter, the saviour[72]; but the same prince perished in a subsequent conflict with this barbarous enemy.[73] In the disputed succession of Bithynia, they interposed their armed mediation in favour of Nicomedes against his brother Zipætes. Upon the death of the former prince, they raised his unworthy son Zeilus to the throne, in opposition to his father's testament; and afterwards treacherously mur-

[71] Conf. Polyb. l. iv. and Plutarch in Pyrrho. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16.

[72] Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

[73] Plin. l. viii. c. 42.

dered the king whom they had capriciously created.[74] But, according to the natural order of events, the provoking insolence of the Gauls occasioned their downfall. Many thousands of them perished[75] in an attempt to shake the throne of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which they had been hired to defend. An hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said[76] to have fallen in Babylonia, while assisting a rebellious brother against Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria. At length the first Attalus, king of Pergamus, defeated them in a decisive battle, which, according to the popular belief of the Greeks, had been foretold by the prophetess Phænnis[77] twenty-five years before the passage of those Barbarians into Asia, and sixty-five years before that memorable victory.[78]

Their defeat by Attalus of Pergamus, Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

The incidents in the engagement itself are not recorded. History makes mention only of its cause and of its consequences. Attalus, who united craft with courage, having fixed an impression of gum on his right hand, plunged it into the reeking bowels of a victim, which, being examined for the purpose of divination, announced to the wondering spectators "the king's

[74] Memnon apud Phot. and Athenæus, l. ii. c. 18.

[75] Pausan. Attic.

[76] 2 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 20.

[77] Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

[78] Polybius, in his character of Attalus, mentions this decisive victory over Βαρυτατον και μαχιμωτατον εθνος των τοτε κατα την Ασιαν, the most oppressive and most warlike nation at that time in Asia. Polyb. l. xviii. c. 24.

CHAP. X.

victory."[79] Thus encouraged by recent prodigies as well as by ancient predictions, his soldiers obtained a decisive victory. The Gauls were driven from their possessions on the sea-coast; and compelled by treaty to quit their ambulatory life and habits of depredation, and to remain in a central territory which they had long occupied, and which was thenceforward confirmed to them by the controuling powers in Asia.[80]

Territories assigned to them.

The country thus assigned to them was called from their name Galatia, and consisted of three contiguous districts dismembered respectively from Bithynia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. Each of these districts of Galatia was inhabited by a particular tribe of Gauls.[81] The Bithynian, or middle, division was the seat of the Tectosages, and the site of their strong-hold Ancyra; towards the east dwelt the Trocmi, in the neighbourhood of Tavium; and, on the west, the Telestoboii in that of Pessinus, a place long famous in the commerce and superstition of the peninsula.[82] Taken together, the three divisions of Galatia extended about two hundred miles in length and a hundred in breadth; a beautiful country, diversified by hill and dale, and intersected near its

[79] Suidas.

[80] The prophecies of Phaennis announcing their total destruction are hyperbolical. Ὅς πασιν Γαλατησι ολεθριον ημαρ εφησει. Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. and Polyb. ubi supra.

[81] Memnon apud Phot. c. xx. p. 722. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. et seq.

[82] See above, Vol. I. p. 126.

CHAP. X.

opposite extremities by the winding courses of the bitter Halys and fishful[83] Sangarius.

They become industrious and peaceful. Olymp. cxlviii. 1. B. C. 188.

As inveterate habits are seldom to be eradicated, the Gauls seem frequently to have relapsed into their former vices. The consul Manlius, fifty-three years after their defeat by the Pergamenian king Attalus, and two years after Antiochus the Great was defeated by the Romans, found it necessary farther to repress the lawless spirit of the Gauls, and to take measures for rendering them in future honest and harmless neighbours.[84] Chiefly from this æra, they seem to have availed themselves of the natural advantages of their country, whose mountains and valleys afforded excellent pasture, and whose sunny hills are naturally adapted to vines and olives. The saline qualities of the soil were peculiarly favourable to their valuable herds of sheep and goats.[85] From the wool of the former and the soft hair of the latter, the Gauls manufactured a variety of cloths, whose beauty they were enabled to heighten by possessing in great abundance the coccus, affording an elegant purple die.[86] Enriched by the commerce of articles in great request, the wandering robbers improved into peaceful citizens. St. Paul's œcumenical epistle, addressed to the Galatians, implies that

[83] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 18.

[84] Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 17. et seq.

[85] See the description of the country in Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. Lettre xxi. and Browne's Travels. Angora, the Ancyra of the Gauls, Mr. B. says, is the neatest town, and its inhabitants the most polished people, in all Anatolia.

[86] Salmas. ad Solinum, p. 272.

CHAP. X.

they were familiarly acquainted with the Greek tongue, then universally diffused over the civilised world. Between the beneficence and meek forbearance recommended by the apostle, and the brutal ferocity of Brennus and Camburis, how wide is the interval!

CHAP. XI.

Effects of the Gallic Invasion. — Reign of Antigonus Gonatas. — The Achæan League. — Reign of Antiochus Soter. — Accession of Antiochus Theos. — Revolt of Parthia and Bactria. — Horrid Transactions in Syria. — Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. — Tragic Events in Cyrené. — Flourishing State of Egypt. — Army. — Navy. — Treasury. — Productive and commercial Industry. — Canals and Harbours. — Picture of Nations between the Nile and the Red Sea. — Ptolemy's Views with regard to the Commerce carried on by the Ethiopian Nomades. — Arts and Sciences. — Constellations of Poets. — Historians. — Philosophers. — Ptolemy's Intercourse by Embassies with Rome and Carthage. — Transition to the History of the Growth and Aggrandisement of Rome.

CHAP. XI.

Effects of the Gallic invasion. Olymp. CXXV. 3. B. C. 278.

THE conquests, made by the Gauls, corresponded not to the vastness of their numbers. Their invasion, however, left a wide and deep impression on the empire, besides separating from it the two important provinces of Thrace and Galatia. Their ravages so much weakened Macedon, that Antigonus Gonatas, with the aid of his Peloponnesian subjects, found little difficulty in remounting the throne of his father Demetrius. The first successors of Seleucus were prevented, chiefly through the Gauls, from recovering their

CHAP. XI.

lost authority in Lesser Asia; while the disorders which these Barbarians caused or abetted in all other parts of the empire gave a degree of relative importance to Egypt, to which that country truly valuable in itself, could not naturally have laid claim, but which it eventually acquired while standing aloof from danger, and collecting the wealth, populousness, and industry of surrounding nations. This subject will be illustrated in the present chapter, which will contain the transactions of what may be called the second generation of Alexander's successors[1], since the successor of Antiochus Soter, as we shall see, died in the same year with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even three years before Antigonus Gonatas.

Antigonus Gonatas recovers Macedon. Olymp. cxxv. 4. B. C. 277.

The last-mentioned prince reigned thirty-four years in Macedon. To the title of his father Demetrius above explained[2], Antigonus, by his mother Philla, added the *legitimate* claims of the house of Antipater, after the family of the great Alexander had been totally extinguished. His authority, therefore, was not disputed by his Macedonian subjects; but, in the first stage of his administration, he found powerful competitors in Antiochus Soter king of Syria[3], in th

[1] This second generation contained those called επιγονοι, in opposition to the διαδοχοι, or immediate successors. Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. in Procem. The first Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Demetrius as joined in sovereignty with his father Antigonus were διαδοχοι. Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, were επιγονοι.

[2] See above, p. 34.

[3] Memnon, Excerp. c. 19.

CHAP. XI.

chieftains of the Gauls, and in Pyrrhus of Epirus.[4] His vigorous exertions for defence, and the alliance of Nicomedes of Bithynia, compelled the king of Syria, after a fruitless campaign in Lesser Asia, to cede his pretensions to the Macedonian throne, and to yield in marriage to Antigonus, the Syrian princess named Philla after her grandmother the admired daughter of Antipater.[5]

Defends it against Antiochus.

It happened fortunately for Antigonus that this treaty was cemented before he met with any disturbance from the Gauls in Tulé, reinforced by new swarms from their seats in Illyricum and Pannonia. Though these invaders repeatedly entered his kingdom, they were resisted with such superior skill, that they retreated with more loss to themselves than they occasioned to the enemy.[6] The terror caused by their first furious irruption had gradually subsided; but they became again formidable when headed by Pyrrhus, just returned without success, but, as will be seen hereafter, with little diminution of renown, from his Italian expedition. With a combined army of Gauls and Epirots, that warlike adventurer, made himself master of the greatest part of Macedon,

Against the Gauls and Pyrrhus.

[4] Plut. in Pyrrho.

[5] Justin, l. xxv. c. 1. and Plutarch in Demet. The Philla, whom Antigonus married, was daughter to his sister Stratonicé, by her first husband Seleucus Nicator; and Stratonicé, as above related, was resigned by Seleucus to cure the pining love of his son Antiochus. Philla, therefore, was niece to Antigonus, who married her; and at once half-sister, and daughter-in-law to Antiochus, who gave her in marriage. The incestuous unions of the Greek kings involve their affinities in endless perplexity.

[6] Justin, l. xxv. c. 2. and Memnon, Excerp. c. 20.

CHAP. XI.

and might have gained and preserved the whole, when he hastened unadvisedly to make new conquests in Peloponnesus. He was slain in the assault of Argos; and his death was viewed as a judgment both in Greece and Macedon, his Gallic allies or mercenaries by ransacking for gold the royal tombs, in the ancient capital of Ægæ, having provoked public resentment, exasperated by religious abhorrence.[7] Their expulsion from Macedon thus became a matter of universal interest and easy execution: and Pyrrhus's ill-conducted enterprise for recovering that kingdom, only established more firmly the throne of Antigonus.

Antigonus's reign, and success of his crooked policy. Olymp. cxxvii. 2. B. C. 271.

From this time forward Antigonus reigned twenty-seven years with little molestation at home, and without taking any part in the affairs of Egypt and Syria, the two great rival powers in the empire. He formed for himself a system apart, in the conducting of which Philip, father of Alexander, appears to have been his model. But he wanted the taste and talents of that elegant as well as politic prince, and even exceeded him in the vileness of those political intrigues which constituted the opprobrious part in Philip's character. The great object of his reign was to recover the Macedonian dominion over the divided republics of Greece, several of which he still held by his garrisons, and a still greater number by his profligate partisans among their own citizens. This undertaking

[7] Plut. in Pyrrho.

was carried on by arms and artifices, with unwearied attention and unabating activity; and as like temptations engender similar crimes, the struggle of Antigonus against the free cities of Greece, will remind us of the execrable proceedings of the modern tyrants in Italy, whose purposes were attained by address rather than force; and of whose dark and crooked policy, assassination, perfidy, and poison were the ordinary and most successful instruments.[8] For many years the schemes of Antigonus advanced with an unremitted tide of good fortune. In Peloponnesus, Sparta and Argos acknowledged his supremacy; and of the great cities beyond the Isthmus, Thebes was completely humbled; and Athens, taken and garrisoned, notwithstanding the resistance of a fleet belonging to Ptolemy Philadelphus.[9]

The small cities of Achaia associate for defence.

In this situation of public affairs, the first symptoms of steady opposition to the usurpations of Macedon, appeared in the small cities of Achaia, a territory sixty miles long, and twenty broad, extending along the Corinthian gulph, whose rocky shores, often beat by the foaming surge, were the terror of Grecian mariners. To a few of these cities, which, in expelling their Macedonian garrisons, had associated for common defence, Alexander, the instrument of Antigonus's dominion in Corinth, offended by

[8] See Machiavel, Guicciardin, Nerli, Varchi, Malavolta; by many deemed entertaining historians, through the singular odiousness of their subjects.

[9] Pausanias, Lacon. c. vi.

CHAP. XI.

some act of severity in his master, had added that important emporium, and rendered its lofty citadel, formerly the controuling garrison, now the protecting bulwark of Peloponnesus. [10]

Corinth joining them is recovered by a stratagem.

The defection of Alexander was punished by a cup of poison; but this crime proved not immediately useful to Antigonus, since Nicæa, widow to the deceased, assumed the government of Corinth, and administered it with the firm virtues of the other sex, although she was soon to be disgraced and ruined by the silliest weaknesses of her own. Antigonus being apprised of her character, instead of submitting to the tedious formalities of a siege, sent to Corinth his son Demetrius, who inherited with the name, the fair external accomplishments of his grandfather Poliorcetes. The courtship of this young prince was not to be resisted by an amorous old woman like Nicæa; who, in giving away herself, fondly and absurdly hoped to retain her power: for, amidst the joys of the nuptial festivity, Antigonus surprised and gained the Corinthian citadel; after which event, Nicæa, abandoned by her lover, was left to lament in solitude over the bitter fruits of her credulity, while the contriver of the delusion gave way, it is said, to such excesses of drunken levity, as seemed to indicate that the taking of Corinth had taken away his own understanding. [11]

[10] Τας πεδας της Ελλαδος. Plut. in Arat.

[11] Τα φρενα κρατησας ο κατεσχεν εαυτον. Plut. in Arat. p. 1034. Conf. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2.

CHAP. XI.

Aratus of Sicyon—his connection with Ptolemy, and opposition to Antigonus. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

The Achæans soon found in Aratus of Sicyon, abler and worthier protection, than they could ever have expected to derive from Alexander the Corinthian, first the creature, and afterwards the betrayer of a foreign prince. Aratus had in early youth gained the friendship of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by his taste in arts and letters, and had rendered himself highly useful to this learned king of Egypt, by providing him with books and pictures from Sicyon, and other cities of Greece. Ptolemy, whose skill in raising money was only equalled by his judicious liberality in employing it, rewarded his Grecian friend with an accumulation of presents of such value, that in the hands of this generous patriot, they became important subsidies to the Achæan confederacy. Antigonus, through hatred to a man whom he could neither intimidate nor corrupt, endeavoured to bring Aratus into suspicion with his royal benefactor. For this purpose he loaded him with caresses and eulogies; and on one occasion sent to him, from Corinth to Sicyon, a portion of the victims sacrificed at the Isthmian games, which, according to the maxims of that age, constituted the highest mark of respect that a citizen of Greece could receive, from the magistrate presiding in that solemnity. At the same time he ostentatiously boasted, before the numerous strangers then convened at the Isthmus, of the perfect devotion of Aratus to his interest: that this honest Greek derided, with himself, the wealth and effeminacy of Ptolemy, and would scorn any

CHAP. XI.

longer to be indebted to his insolent bounty. Philadelphus was industriously informed of this discourse; but instead of rashly withdrawing his confidence from Aratus, he, with his usual prudence, informed him of the malicious accusation, and thereby afforded him an opportunity of making a satisfactory defence. The illustrious Sicyonian thus continued to counterwork[12] the designs of Antigonus in Greece; until the latter returned in final disappointment into Macedon, where he died at the age of eighty, and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign; leaving to his son Demetrius, a kingdom boldly acquired, and ably defended, but to which, notwithstanding his unceasing villanies, he failed of restoring its ancient ascendency over the Grecian republics.

Death of Antigonus Gonatas. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

Reign of Antiochus Soter. Olymp. cxxv. 1.—cxxix. 4. B. C. 280.—262.

Antiochus, king of Syria, had entered, as we have seen, into a treaty with Antigonus, by which he desisted from his pretensions to the Macedonian crown. Shortly after this transaction, Antiochus attained the brightest glory of his reign, in the great victory over the Gauls in Lesser Asia, from which he derived the title of Soter, the Saviour.[13] Of this victory, however, neither the time nor the place is exactly ascertained, and the principal notice concerning it, is the important service rendered to Antiochus by his elephants, on which account the elephant was assumed as his favourite trophy, and as

[12] Polybius, l. i. c. 43. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

[13] Appian, Syriac. c. 65. & Lucian de Zeuxi & Antiocho.

such, is eminently conspicuous on his coins. The subsequent reign of this second king of Syria, which lasted nineteen years, was tranquil and prosperous in the East; in the West, it was distracted and inglorious. His general, Patrocles, was defeated by the Bithynians. Antiochus in person incurred similar disgrace against Eumenes of Pergamus.[14] In the plain of Sardes, that petty prince maintained his independence against the great monarch of the East, and even extorted from his adversary a large extension of his boundaries.[15]

His Unfortunate war with Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. cxxix. 1. B. C. 264.

Antiochus was equally unfortunate in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which he was involved by his connection with Magas, the rebellious governor of Cyrené. Magas was the son of Berenicé, by a former obscure[16] husband; before she was married to Ptolemy Soter. He was therefore brother uterine to Philadelphus, and continued by him in his government of Cyrené, which, at his mother's request, he had previously obtained from the father of that prince. But Magas revolted from his brother, and having married Apama daughter to Antiochus Soter, engaged his father-in-law to abet his rebellion, and to acknowledge him as king of Cyrené. In this transaction, the whole advantage was on the side of Magas; the loss redounded to Antiochus; for Ptolemy, whose fleet was the most powerful in the empire, in-

[14] Memnon, apud. Phot. p. 718.

[15] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

[16] A Macedonian named Philip: this is all we know of him.

CHAP. XI.

vaded those maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, still subject to Antiochus, and chastised the perfidy of Magas, by dismembering the territories of his ally.[17] In addition to these misfortunes, Antiochus had the mortification of seeing his ancient enemies, the Gauls, domineering in the central provinces of the peninsula. The ravages of those fierce Barbarians reminded him how little he deserved his proud title of Soter. His last engagement with them was fought under the walls of Ephesus; a bloody, but undescribed battle, in which he lost his army and his life.[18] During his unhappy reign, public disasters had been embittered by domestic calamities. His beloved Stratonicé had been early snatched from his arms. Ptolemy, his elder son, having acted the part of a rebel, had suffered the death of a traitor.[19a] Shortly after this event, Antiochus, imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor, raised his younger son to the throne of the East; a precaution which kept in obedience the upper provinces upon his own discomfiture and death in Lower Asia. Like other contemporary princes, he had illustrated his name by a new city, called Antiochia, in the remote province of Margiana, on the banks of the Oxus.[20] A foundation, unimportant as an

Slain in battle by the Gauls. Olymp. cxxix. 3. B.C. 262.

[17] Pausanias, Attic. c. vii. [18] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 42.

[19] Trogi Prolog. l. xxvi. This Syrian Ptolemy, is said to have rewarded the physician Erasistratus with an hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds, for curing the father, against whom he afterwards rebelled. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

[20] Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. The city was seven miles in circuit,

insulated fact, but highly memorable when taken in connection with other establishments of Alexander and his successors. Besides the southern communication through Egypt and the Red Sea, the intercourse between the East and West was carried on by two great northern channels, one passing along the Oxus and the Caspian, and another, still more northern, from Sera in the north-eastern province of China, to the stoney-tower [21], as it was called, on the frontiers of the Massagetæ. The subjects of the Syrian and Bactrian kings derived benefits from those northern routes, not inferior to those accruing from the commerce by the Red Sea to Egypt, and the Ptolemies.

Reign of Antiochus Theos. Olymp. cxxix. 4. cxxxiii. 3. B.C. 261—246.

Antiochus Soter was succeeded by his son of the same name, who, hastening to Syria on the news of his father's death, took possession of that kingdom, and endeavoured to retrieve his affairs in the great neighbouring peninsula. His warfare with the Gauls was not attended with any decisive event: they continued, after his departure, to oppress the inland districts. Antiochus next turned his arms to the valuable southern coast; to Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, which provinces had been wrested

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and stood near the river Margus, then divided into many canals, for watering the contiguous country, Plin. l. vi. c. 16. Thence, in Isidore de Margiana, we should read *ενυδρος*, not *ανυδρος*; the *irriguous*, not the *dry* Antioch.

[21] Conf. Ptolem. Geograph. l. ii. vi. 13. He cites an author, mentioning discoveries made in the East Indies, by Macedonian merchants established in Upper Asia.

CHAP. XI.

from his father, by the fleets of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the early stage of this expedition, the Syrians were successful, and Antiochus acquired his distinguishing title of Theos, the god. The Milesians first flattered his ear with the grateful sound, for having conquered and slain Timarchus, Ptolemy's governor of Caria, who had revolted from his master, and fixed the seat of his usurpation at Miletus.[22] After the merit of destroying this upstart tyrant, the remaining fourteen years of Antiochus the god were the life of a very weak and unfortunate man. On the northern coasts of Lesser Asia, the confederate cities of Byzantium and Heraclæa rejected his authority, and disgraced his arms[23]; while Ptolemy Philadelphus, after recovering the places which he had recently lost, extended his dominion over the whole southern coast of the peninsula, confirmed it over the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and doubled, as we shall see presently, the natural and intrinsic value of these territories, by the great and solid purposes to which their resources were applied. On the part of Antiochus, the war against Egypt was often renewed with the whole force of his monarchy, but never attended with any continuation of success, and finally concluded in consequence of events most disastrous to the Macedonian empire in the East.

His unfortunate wars.

Revolt of Bactria and

By draining his garrisons in the upper pro-

[22] Appian, Syriac. 165. [23] Memnon apud Phot.

CHAP. XI.

vinces, that he might carry on more effectually hostilities against Ptolemy, Antiochus left the out-lying countries of Bactria and Parthia, exposed to the twofold evil of domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. Theodotus the Bactrian, whose name indicates his Grecian descent, first raised the standard of revolt, and adding policy to prowess, gained or subdued the Macedonians and mercenaries who held that country in dependance.[24] His example was followed in Parthia, by the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, the elder of whom dying in battle two years afterwards, was succeeded by the younger, who assumed his name and title. We are not informed of the circumstances which immediately occasioned the rebellion in Bactria: but in Parthia, one of the roughest and strongest provinces in the empire, crowded by a conflux of Scythian exiles, the materials prepared for combustion were thrown into a flame by the abominable outrage of Agathocles, Antiochus's viceroy, to the person of young Tiridates. In revenge for this insult, the brothers formed a conspiracy against the life of Agathocles, and having slain that brutish tyrant, summoned the Parthians to liberty.[25] That he might have leisure to suppress these commotions in the East, Antiochus was earnest for an accommodation with Egypt. His eagerness must have been great to attain this object, since he agreed to wed Berenicé,

Parthia. Olymp. cxxxi. 3. B. C. 254.

Antiochus's marriage

[24] Justin, l. xli. c. 4.

[25] Arrian, Parthic. apud Photium, p. 52. Conf. Georg. Monach. Chron. in Not. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Edit. Gronov.

CHAP. XI.

with Berenicé, Ptolemy's daughter. Olymp. cxxxii. 1. B. C. 252.

the daughter of Ptolemy, and to settle his crown on the issue of that marriage, although he had already two sons by his wife and sister Laodicé, whom he had solemnly espoused in the first year of his reign.[26] Neither this dishonourable pacification, nor his great warlike preparations, nor the death of the elder Arsaces in battle, enabled Antiochus to recover his lost authority in Bactria and Parthia, or to prevent the contagion of rebellion from extending to neighbouring provinces of the East. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Berenicé became the victim of the treaty of which she had been the bond. She had borne a son to Antiochus, but when the protection of her father was removed, the Syrian king, dissolving a marriage which had been the work of interest or fear, recalled Laodicé to his bed, and reinstated *her* children in their birthrights.[27] In committing this breach of faith, Antiochus too rashly despised the youth and inexperience of the brother of Berenicé, afterwards entitled Euergetes; but his perfidy was punished in the first instance by Laodicé, for whose sake the guilt of it had been incurred. That princess was no sooner restored to her rank of queen, than she determined that her own dignity, and the prospects of her children, should never again become the sport of state-policy. Having poisoned her husband, she engaged a Greek,

Antiochus Theos poisoned by Laodicé.

[26] Hieron. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 6. Appian and Athenæus.

[27] Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Conf. Appian, Syriac.

CHAP. XI.

named Artemon, who strongly resembled him, to personate Antiochus in a pretended malady, and to name at the seeming approach of death, her elder son Selcucus, as successor to the kingdom. This artifice, which passed unquestioned with the public, escaped not the discernment of Berenicé, who, upon the first news of the transaction, fled in haste from Antioch to the neighbouring asylum of Daphné. In so sacred a retreat, she had reason to expect safety for her infant son and Egyptian attendants; but before they could be rescued by her brother Euergetes, the new king of Egypt, they were all of them seized and murdered, together with Berenicé herself, by the emissaries of her triumphant rival.[28] These enormities kindled a new war between Ptolemy Euergetes, and Seleucus, entitled Callinicus, who mounted, respectively, the thrones of Egypt and Syria in the same year.[29] The empire, while assailed by the Gauls in the West, and by the Parthians in the East, was thus weakened and deformed by the intestine discord of its two principal kingdoms. Syria was the chief sufferer in the conflict, under what may be called the third generation of Alexander's successors; but before we proceed to the events of that period, it remains to examine, with regard to arts as well as arms, the reign of the second Ptolemy in Egypt.

Berenicé and her son involved in his fate. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. B. C. 246.

[28] Polyænus, Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 14. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. & Hieron. in Daniel, c. xi.

[29] Conf. Ptolemy in Canon. and Hieron. in c. xi. Daniel.

CHAP. XI.

Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olymp. cxxiv. 1. cxxiii. 3. B. C. 284—246.

His successful wars in Asia Minor and in Syria have been already *noticed*, for they are nowhere circumstantially described. He was unfortunate in attempting to rescue Athens from the gripe of Antigonus Gonatas; but this failure he compensated by conquering Ænos and Maronea, Greek cities of great strength[30] on the Thracian coast of the Ægean sea, and by gaining possession of the smaller Greek islands[31], surrounding Delos in a circular form, and therefore named the Cyclades. For these advantages, Ptolemy was indebted to the superiority of his fleet; and his armies had been equally successful in the Syrian warfare, excited, as we have seen, by the intrigues of Magas, the rebellious viceroy of Cyrené. After a defection of seven years, that traitor, who had usurped the title of king, intimidated by the disasters of his allies, desired to come to an accommodation with his injured brother. For this purpose he offered in marriage his only child, a daughter named Berenicé[32], to Ptolemy's eldest son; and to invest the proffered bride with the right of sole successor to his dominions. The proposal was accepted, for Magas was in the decline of life, and Philadelphus was not of a character to contend by arms for what he might more safely acquire by treaty. He agreed, therefore, that Euergetes, the son of a king, should marry Berenicé, the daughter of a rebel. Before the consummation of these nuptials, Magas died of

Marriage between Ptolemy's son and Magas's daughter. Olymp. cxxx. 3. B. C. 258.

[30] Polybius, l. v. c. 34.
[31] Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.
[32] Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

excessive corpulency[33]; and Berenicé still remained at Cyrené, in the power of her mother Apama, daughter of Antiochus Soter, and one of those infamous females, whose profligacy still more disgraced, than their beauty adorned, the thrones of Alexander's successors.

Its consummation retarded by Apama, the widow of Magas; her profligacy and tragical end.

Apama had never consented to a transaction, by which her daughter and herself would have fallen into the hands of the Ptolemies, jealous rivals to the house of Seleucus. To defeat the proposed match of Berenicé with Euergetes, she invited from Macedon the younger brother of Antigonus Gonatas, who, together with the name of his father Demetrius[34], inherited his main characteristics of mind and body. The same graces of person, and the same deformities of soul which ruined the father, proved also fatal to the son. Demetrius espoused Berenicé, but lived as the husband of Apama. Proud of the love of the mother, and not less of the jealousy of the daughter, and elated with the matrimonial crown of Cyrené, which he knew not how to wear with decency, he provoked indignation by his insolence, and contempt by his folly. The burst of public revenge was anticipated by a conspiracy in the palace: Berenicé conducted the steps, and instigated[35] the hands of the as-

[33] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550.

[34] This prince must not be confounded with the son of Antigonus, who bore the same name.

[35] This transaction is alluded to in Catullus's translation of Callimachus de Coma Berenices,

> Anne bonum oblita es facinus quo regium adepta es
> Conjugium? V. 27. et seq.

words ill explained by all commentators.

CHAP. XI.

sassins: Demetrius was slain in the bed of incestuous adultery; the infamous Apama was spared, and allowed to escape to her brother in Syria, while her injured and now triumphant daughter hastened into Egypt, bringing, as her dower to the Ptolemies, the restored allegiance of her province. [36]

Transition from foreign wars to the internal state of Egypt.

From the wars of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which were carried on chiefly by his lieutenants, we turn to a more interesting subject, the internal prosperity of his kingdom. If we credit the general testimony of antiquity, Egypt, during his long and enlightened reign, attained a degree of wealth and splendour unexampled in any kingdom before or afterwards. To avoid confusion in this copious subject, I shall first briefly state the wonderful reports delivered down to us. I shall then endeavour to bring together the circumstances hinted at, rather than explained, from which Ptolemy's real prosperity flowed.

Reports of ancient authors—of Theocritus.

The first testimony to be adduced is that of a poet, contemporary with Ptolemy, and writing in the learned capital of that prince. Theocritus will tell us that, in his own happy age, Egypt was governed by equal laws [37], defended by invincible armies, and at once the best cultivated, and the most commercial kingdom on earth; that the sway of his king and patron extended over more than thirty thousand cities or towns,

[36] Justin, l. xxvi. c. 3.

[37] The best proof of this was the cheerful industry of the people, Λαοι δ' εργα περιστελλεσσι εκηλοι. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 93.

CHAP. XI.

flourishing in useful arts[38]; that his fleets, on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, carried on a most extensive traffic; and that a country, which had long languished under the barbarous yoke of Persia in the humiliation of a province, again resumed more than her pristine splendour, exercising a secure and salutary dominion over the islands of Greece, the seaports of Asia, and even the outlying and almost inaccessible regions of Libya, Arabia, and Ethiopia.[39] For the dazzling rays of poetry and panegyric, should we desire to substitute the more sober light of history, we must have recourse to Appian, a native of Alexandria, who governed Egypt early in the first century after Christ. Appian is an historian eminent for fidelity; he was in possession of the archives of Egypt, to which he appeals as his authority; and he could have no reasonable motive for exaggerating the wealth and power of a country over which he was præfect, and for the employment and improvement of whose resources, he was accountable to his masters, Trajan and Hadrian, the Roman emperors. According to Appian, Philadelphus's army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, forty thousand horse, three hundred elephants, and two thousand

Of Appian.

Military establishment of Egypt.

[38] Ουδε τις αστα τοσσα βροτων εχει εργα δαεντων, v. 81. et seqq. The latter words should seem to imply, that his cities were what we should call manufacturing towns: but in whatever sense the word is taken, the number is prodigious. Ancient Italy, in the most flourishing times, boasted only eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 16. and Gaul contained nearly the same number of villages. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iii. c. 3.

[39] Ibid. v. 86. et seq.

CHAP. XI.

armed chariots.[40] His arsenals were copiously stored with all sorts of military engines, and with armour for three hundred thousand men, in addition to those which he actually kept on foot.

Navy.

His navy was not less magnificent, consisting of a hundred and twelve ships of an uncommon size, from galleys of five to others of thirty-five tier of oars: his trireme and quadrireme galleys amounted to fifteen hundred; he had two thousand armed vessels of a smaller size: above four thousand Egyptian merchantmen navigated the Mediterranean; and the Nile gloried in the pompous weight of eight hundred resplendent barges, adorned with idols of gold on their prows and sterns. The naval magazines of Ptolemy were still better stored than the military; since in the former he had every thing necessary for the equipment of double the number of galleys[41]

Treasury.

actually fitted out. Yet those mighty fleets and armies did not exhaust his more stupendous treasury: which, at the time of his death, amounted to seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian talents[42], exceeding in value a hundred and ninety millions sterling; a sum, of which not indeed modern accumulation but mo-

[40] Vid. Appian, Hist. Roman. in Procem.

[41] It should seem that the numerous swarms of pirates (of which more hereafter) obliged the Egyptians to carry on commerce in armed vessels. This I infer from the small proportion of round ships, or merchantmen, in the enumeration above given. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. In England, I believe, we have not more than a thousand ships of war; while our ships of commerce exceed twenty thousand.—The above note was written, flagrante bello.

[42] Appian, in Procem. c. x.

dern profusion only, can help to reconcile our ears. In the zenith of Roman greatness, the magnificence of the second Ptolemy still continued proverbial, and the epithet of Philadelphian was employed to characterise those works pre-eminent in preciousness of material, or in nobleness of design.[43] Without accumulating authorities leading to the same conclusion, I shall briefly explain the peculiarities in Ptolemy's reign, which have a tendency to confirm the general evidence of antiquity; an evidence which will always be of easiest reception, among men of candid minds and enlarged experience.

Circumstances which have a tendency to confirm those reports.

In the preceding pages of this work, we have seen the fleets of his father and himself gradually attain an unrivalled superiority. This advantage was heightened by the acquisition of Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, in a word, the whole southern coast of Lesser Asia, in addition to Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and the isle of Cyprus, which had been long appendages to Egypt. Without taking into the account Cyrené, the Cyclades, and the seaports on the coast of Thrace, we know from the description formerly given of all those countries, that their timber and iron, their harbours and sailors, contained the materials of a vast naval force; which were improved by the Ptolemies, with equal activity and judgment. But while the conquests of these princes supplied them with this great instrument of opu-

Ptolemy's extensive dominions.

Troubles in other countries

[43] Ὁυ (πτολεμαιε) και μεχρι νυν αδεται το κλεος—ὡς ηδη και εν παροιμιας ειδει τας υπερογκους φιλοτιμιας και μεγαλας κατασκευας φιλαδελφειας καλεισθαι. Philo Judæus de Vita Mosis.

CHAP. XI.

lence and power, the unceasing wars in Greece, the ravages of the Gauls in Lower Asia, and the tumults excited by the Parthians, in the upper provinces, continually brought new accessions of industrious and peaceful subjects to Egypt, in which country alone men enjoyed security, fearing no enemies from abroad, and being governed at home by well-maintained laws of justice.[44] To these advantages, the magnitude of which it is not easy to limit, Ptolemy added a benefit accruing from the peculiar habits and character of his Egyptian subjects, who, notwithstanding many pernicious prejudices, which he was careful to correct or mitigate, had appeared from the earliest times, an ingenious and courteous people, of great temperance and sobriety, capable of unwearied application to the useful arts, and abundantly supplying by their agriculture and manufactures the necessities and accommodations of themselves and neighbours.

brought great accessions of wealth and population to Egypt.

Industrious habits of the Egyptians.

To the southern neighbours of Egypt, the Arabians and Ethiopians, Ptolemy directed the most vigilant attention. These nations, as we have seen, had immemorially traded with India for spice; and were themselves peculiarly rich, Arabia in perfumes, Ethiopia in gold. By his admiral, Timosthenes the Rhodian, Ptolemy early navigated the Red Sea, examined the harbours of Adel, beyond the straits of Babelmandeb[45], and explored the coast of Africa to

Advantages accruing to Egypt from Ethiopia and Arabia.

[44] Ου γαρ τις δηιων, &c. See the beautiful lines, Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. v. 100. et seq.

[45] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 773.

Ophir, or Sofala, the land of gold, opposite to the coast of Madagascar. The boldness of such an undertaking will not allow us to suppose that he neglected treasures more within his reach. Ethiopia above Egypt united the greatest wealth with the greatest wretchedness, and comprehended a variety of nations, with peculiarities so discordant, that according to an ancient writer, the true description of any one people must have appeared incredible, not only to remote strangers, but to its immediate neighbours.[46] The singular view of these contrasting nations was opened to the curiosity of the Greeks in the reign of the two first Ptolemies, particularly Philadelphus, who founded a city near the Red Sea, called Ptolemais Ferarum[47], nearly as far to the south of Syené, the extremity of Egypt, as Syené itself is distant from the mouths of the Nile. The purpose of this settlement, it is said, was to hunt the elephant, and to catch him alive for the service of war, and the pomp of processions. But this design was at first opposed by the natives, worthy ancestors of the modern Shangalla, who delighted in hamstringing this huge and innocent tenant of their plains, in dissecting his brawny members, and in greedily devouring his live flesh; a kind of food to them so delicious, that they assured Ptolemy, they would not barter its enjoyment for all the treasures of Egypt.[48] The king, however, partly

[46] Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud Photium, p. 1362.
[47] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 769.
[48] Agatharchides, ibid. p. 1356.

CHAP. XI.

succeeded in reforming this horrid usage of those woolly-headed Barbarians, as appears from the vast number of elephants which he drew from their country.

Gold mines of Berenicé, Panchrysos.

In the intermediate space of about four hundred miles beween Syené and the hunting-seat for wild beasts, Ptolemy built many cities, particularly Berenicé, distinguished by the epithet of "golden" among the various places named after his beloved mother. The neighbourhood of this southern Berenicé contained rich mines of gold, which had been wrought with much profit by the ancient Egyptian kings, but in which all labour had been suspended during the desolating dominion of the Persians. In these mines the Greeks still found copper tools, employed of old by the original workmen, but substituted, in their stead, more efficacious tools of iron. A description of their operations is given under the sixth Ptolemy, entitled Philometor, when the mines were much exhausted, and when the painful labour was confined to criminals or slaves.[49] Their produce, it may be presumed, was in former reigns much greater, and particularly when they were managed by the agents of Philadelphus, who, as of all men he had the most liberality and taste in employing wealth, is said also to have been of all the most skilful and most fortunate in acquiring it.[50]

Indian trade.

There is historical evidence that Ptolemy

[49] Diodorus Siculus, l. iii. s. 12. et seq. Conf. Agatharchides apud Phot. p. 1339. et seq.

[50] Appian, Hist. Rom. in Proœm.

traded directly to India, though this trade was carried on by a small number of vessels.[51] Such however as it was, it prevented the monopoly which might otherwise have been enjoyed by the Sabæans in the great articles of spices and perfumes. By his ships on the Red Sea, Ptolemy carried on a lucrative commerce with Yemen and Adel, respectively the finest districts in Arabia and Ethiopia; and the traffic of pepper, aromatics, pearls, and gold, whose caravans anciently raised the stupendous inland capitals of Thebes and Memphis, now enriched by numerous fleets the maritime emporium of Alexandria.[52] By his judicious arrangements in this city, and the help of his obsequious allies in Rhodes, Ptolemy introduced an easier communication than had formerly subsisted between the east and west; and, by commanding the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, finished, as it were, two arms of the vast commercial colossus which Alexander had rough-hewn or projected, and which, had that conqueror lived a few years longer, he would have reared entire to the unspeakable benefit of posterity.

Ptolemy's canal of little benefit to trade.

From his predilection for maritime traffic, Ptolemy undertook several projects of a doubtful nature; of more ostentation, at least, than use. Among these I should be inclined to number his boasted canal by which the Red Sea was

[51] Strabo, l. ii. p. 118.

[52] Conf. Appian in Procem. & Schol. in Theocrit.

CHAP. XI.

made to communicate with the Mediterranean; a canal begun by Sesostris, carried on but left imperfect by Darius, and which Ptolemy alone is said to have had the skill to finish.[53] This was effected by means of locks or sluices, without infecting the fresh waters of the Nile with saltness, or exposing the low land of Egypt to inundation: both which consequences were dreaded from the superior elevation of the Red Sea. According to Herodotus[54], who says that Darius really completed the work, this canal was drawn, from Bubastis on the Nile, fifty-six miles in a south-west direction to Arsinoé, the modern Suez, at which place it entered the Red Sea. After being choaked up as at present, it was successively repaired by the Emperor Trajan, and by the Caliph Omar, but there is not any proof that it ever remained open for any considerable time[55]; and the navigation of it seems to have been speedily abandoned by Ptolemy himself, since he was at great expence in establishing caravan communications between the Red Sea and the Nile, first from Berenicé in the parallel of Syené, and next from the more northerly and more convenient harbour of Myos Hormos.[56] From both these harbours roads led to Coptos on the Nile; the road from Myos Hormos to Coptos was provided with caravan-

Harbours on the Red Sea.

53 Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. s. 3. & Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 29.

54 L. ii. c. 158.

55 See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 478.

56 Myos Hormos is 250 miles north of the Berenicé here meant.

series at each station, and with a canal for supplying the travelling merchants and their camels with fresh water. As the distance was inconsiderable, and the commodities transported of great value, this route was deemed preferable to a dangerous and circuitous navigation to Alexandria.[57]

Ptolemy's design of changing into a maritime commerce the caravan trade between Egypt and Ethiopia.

From the earliest ages the natives of Egypt had carried on a great inland commerce with Ethiopia and Arabia. But their religious horror of the sea, and especially for a sea-faring life, prevented them from availing themselves to the utmost of this traffic. Egypt was in some measure the China of antiquity, in whose harbours the Phœnicians and Greeks successively gained great riches, while the inhabitants of the country, declining all maritime concerns, neither sold their own commodities to the best advantage, nor purchased foreign articles at the cheapest rate. The Ptolemies completely changed this pernicious system; they traded with their own ships to all the ports of the Mediterranean: Tyre had already fallen, and Carthage soon fell with the rise of Alexandria, whose central situation co-operated with other circumstances in giving to it a decided pre-eminence as a great maritime emporium. Sensible of this advantage, the second Ptolemy should seem to have determined, towards the end of his reign, to carry on entirely by the Red Sea the caravan trade which had formerly subsisted between the cities

[57] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815.

CHAP. XI.

of Egypt on one hand, and those of Ethiopia on the other.

Picture of the nations between the Red Sea and the Nile.

In a former part of this work [58], we explained how that rich traffic was managed by the intervention of the Agazi or shepherds, Nomadic inhabitants of the intermediate desert of Nubia. The intercourse at different periods had been disturbed by revolutionary wars in Egypt, and nearly destroyed by the outrageous tyranny of Cambyses, and the sanguinary persecution of the Egyptian priests, commenced by him, and continued by his successors. The shepherds, who had been peaceful auxiliaries to the priestly merchants of Thebes and Meroé, ceasing to be employed as carriers in trade, had betaken themselves to petty warfare and robbery. Philadelphus and his immediate successor restrained their ravages, invaded and examined their country; and in order to wean them from their predatory and wandering life, formed settlements and built towns in the territory between Syené, the extremity of Egypt, and Meroé, the first city of Ethiopia. The learned men who lived at this period, and from whose works the names of otherwise unknown places are copied by Strabo [59] and Pliny [60], probably first examined with a philosophic eye the strange nations afterwards described by Agatharchides between the Red Sea and the Nile; those called Ichthyophagi and Acridophagi from the fishes and the locusts on which

[58] See Vol. I. p. 113. & seq.
[59] Strabo, l. xvii. pp. 820, 821.
[60] Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 39.

they respectively fed; other tribes contented with the juncs growing in their marshes, and often browsing on tender twigs; the fiercer Shangalla hunting the elephant and rhinoceros; the Troglodites burrowing in the elevated rocky chain that runs parallel with the Red Sea, divided into many tribes mostly pastoral, who are compelled to perpetual changes of abode in consequence of the periodic rains which fall at different seasons on the opposite sides of their mountains.[61] Could they withstand these desolating floods, another mischief would force them to wander. This is the zimb or fly, improperly described by Agatharchides, though its effects are recognized by him. It is larger than a bee, and its upper and lower jaws are armed with stings, or piercers which, being joined together, form a weapon equal in resistance to a hedgehog's bristle. As soon as the tropical rains begin to fall, this buzzing plague infests all the animals pasturing on the black loamy soil. The cattle forsake their food, and run about wildly, till entirely overcome by fear, fatigue, and famine. No expedient is of use but an immediate removal from their rich pastures, to the sands of Atbara, which the river Astaboras separates from the isle of Meroé. The camel greatly facilitates these journeys which are necessary to its own safety; for neither the camel, the elephant, nor

[61] Vid. Agatharchid. apud Phot. p. 1345—1359. Compare throughout Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.

CHAP. XI.

even the scaly rhinoceros can resist the incessant assaults of this winged assassin.[62]

Abortive project of the Ptolemies to reduce the Nomades in those countries to an agricultural life.

In this great tract of territory the inhabitants are thus compelled by physical causes to perpetual migration; their country itself is also generally unfit for agriculture, being alternately deluged by rains and scorched by the sun. Between these extremes there is, in many places, no remission, for the rains have scarcely ceased, when the soil is so hardened and cracked by the heat, that it refuses nourishment to the fading grass.[63] It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ptolemies, in assigning fixed habitations to Nomades so circumstanced, too little respected the immutable ordinances of nature. Accordingly we are told by Pliny, that not a vestige of any of the cities, which they built in the country between Egypt and Abyssinia, subsisted in the reign of the Emperor Nero.[64]

Their views in that project.

Their endeavour to enure the Nomades to agriculture or sedentary arts, appears, however, to have been part of a plan for drawing to themselves by the way of the Red Sea the commerce immemorially carried on by land between the priests of Egypt and those of Ethiopia. In the reign of Philadelphus, Ergamenes king of Meroé, being instructed in Greek philosophy, derided the superstition of his country, and destroyed, in their golden temple, those wealthy and powerful priests, who had hitherto kept in subjection both prince and peo-

[62] Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile.
[63] Id. ibid. and Agatharchides, p. 1357.
[64] A.D. 54. Plin. ubi supra.

ple.[65] We are not told that Philadelphus had any share in this wicked transaction; yet the ruin of the priests, who were the main adventurers in this Ethiopian traffic, at the same time that the Nomades, its carriers, were reduced to fixed seats, should seem to indicate that these were correlative parts of one great design for bringing the trade into a new channel.

Great accession of inhabitants to Egypt in the reign of the two first Ptolemies.

It has already been observed, that a great benefit accruing to Egypt, during the reign of the first two Ptolemies, consisted in the accession of wealthy and industrious inhabitants to that kingdom from all the other most considerable divisions of the empire. It will give us some notion of the multitudes of useful labourers in the coarser occupations of life, who flocked to a country affording to them encouragement and security, if we reflect on the great number of men of letters; philosophers, historians, and poets; and of the still more numerous professors or cultivators of the arts of imitation or design, which rendered Alexandria, in the space of half a century, the first city in the world in point of show and elegance as well as of wealth and learning.

Three poetical constellations.

In the reign of Philadelphus, poets of great merit in the eyes at least of their contemporaries, flourished in such abundance, that they were fancifully grouped into constellations. There was a constellation of comic[66] writers, whose light has been long extinct; there was another

[65] Diodor. l. iii. s. 6.

[66] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 654.

CHAP. XI.

of tragedians[67], which has experienced the same fate, unless we ascribe to this class the Cassandra of Lycophron, which, consisting in the narrative of a single person, introduced and concluded by a few verses in dialogue, can only be regarded as a tragic monody. Lycophron, therefore, more fitly holds place in the constellation of miscellaneous poets, the famous Pleiades, whose names and countries are thus enumerated[68]: Aratus of Soli in Cilicia; Callimachus of Cyrené; Theocritus the Sicilian; Apollonius, called the Rhodian, though really born in Egypt; Lycophron of Chalcis in Eubœa; Nicander of Colophon; and the younger Homer, whose birth-place is said to have been Hieropolis, but which of the various cities of that name, as none of his productions remain, it would be now idle to investigate. The six first-named stars in the Pleiades, on the contrary, still emit a light more or less feeble, and which, through the happy invention of printing, will continue henceforward to shine undiminished to the latest posterity.

Aratus.

Aratus is the author of a poem in two parts, the former describing the celestial phænomena, and the latter explaining the useful signs or prognostics that may be deduced from them. The work is didactic, allowing little scope for the beauties of poetry; yet the positions and configurations of the Great and Little Bear, of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and of other re-

[67] Hephæstion Encheirid.

[68] Isaac Tzetzes in Lycophron. Prolegom. Conf. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 12.

markable constellations, are represented and adorned with harmonious heroic numbers; and the opening of Aratus's Phænomena is more sublime than that of Virgil's Georgic; with less variety, perhaps, and fancy, but breathing a strain of far more rational piety.[69] His own proficiency in geometry and astronomy is said to have been inconsiderable[70]; but he had before him Eudoxus's "Mirror of the Heavens," above-mentioned; and was assisted by men of science, his contemporaries and friends[71] at Alexandria. That his work was highly prized by the ancients, is evinced in its illustrious translators; Cicero, Ovid, and Cæsar Germanicus[72]: it was soon commented on by upwards of forty scholiasts.[73] The subject, indeed, so interesting to mariners, was peculiarly well adapted to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with whom the extension of maritime commerce was a favourite object. But sailors have long enjoyed better helps in directing their course; and the dry poem of Aratus has lost its popularity with its usefulness. By his contemporaries, the author was highly respected in life; and honoured in death with pompous obsequies, and a noble mausoleum[74] at

[69] It is cited by St. Paul, Acts, c. xvii. v. 28.

[70] Constat inter doctos, hominem ignarum astrologiæ ornatissimis atque optimis versibus Aratum de cælo et stellis scripsisse. Cicero de Orator.

[71] Thus assisted, Thomson wrote his poem to the memory of Newton.

[72] Virgil's imitation of the "Prognostics" in Georg. 1. is so close, that it also may be called a translation.

[73] Fabricius, Bib. Græc. l. iii. c. 18.

[74] Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 13.

CHAP. XI.

Soli, afterwards named Pompeiopolis, his birth-place.[75]

Callimachus.

Callimachus is praised by one of the most discerning of critics[76] as the prince of elegiac poets. He is now known by six hymns (one only in elegiac verse), and sixty-two epigrams. He was a very miscellaneous writer in prose as well as verse, and is said to have composed eight hundred pieces.[77] He treated subjects of history, geography, antiquities, philosophy natural and moral; above all, philology and criticism. But though his productions were wondrous for their number, his whole works were not considerable in magnitude.[78] This was matter of reproach among his more ponderous rivals, to whom his reply became proverbial, that "a great book is a great evil." His most celebrated treatise in prose was his "Table of Authors," in one hundred and twenty books. In this table or catalogue, authors were divided into their different classes; poets, orators, historians, philosophers, critics; the poets, for example, were again divided into epic, tragic, and various other kinds. A short biography was given of each writer, with a summary account of his works, carefully separating the spurious from those undoubtedly genuine.[79] An undertaking of such an extensive nature, how judiciously soever it

[75] Ovid supplies the best inscription:

Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus erit.

Amor. l. i. Eleg. 15.

[76] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1.

[77] Suidas.

[78] Athenæus, l. i. sub. init.

[79] Suidas.

might be executed, could scarcely fail to be, in many parts, liable to objection. We find accordingly that Aristophanes, an Alexandrian philologer of the succeeding age, composed a new literary table, with many sharp animadversions on that of Callimachus.[80] Of the remains of this author, which have come down to us, the epigrams, whether dedicated to the purposes of satire or eulogy, are too slight performances to support much weight of fame; and his hymns, terse and elegant[81] as they are, and highly popular as they once were, necessarily lost interest and fame, after Christianity had put to rout the rabble of imaginary gods to whom they are addressed. CHAP. XI.

Theocritus, the friend of Aratus[82], enjoys an advantage above his poetical contemporaries, in having chosen, in his pastorals, subjects alike adapted to all ages and countries. Though he lived and wrote in Egypt, his mind continued to be warmly impressed with the more picturesque scenery of his native Sicily. He sounds his Doric reed with an art that adorns, without altering, the simplicity of nature. If we except a few coarse expressions, growing out of the depraved manners of the times, his Idyls are the happiest productions in their way; and succeed- Theocritus.

[80] Athenæus, l. ix. p. 408.

[81] Battiades toto semper cantabitur orbe:
Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.
Ovid. ubi supra.

[82] Theocritus's sixth Idyl is addressed to Aratus; whose loves also are spoken of in the seventh.

CHAP. XI.

ing poets, not excepting Virgil himself, have failed in their attempts to improve on and embellish them.

Apollonius.

Apollonius, surnamed the Rhodian because adopted into that state, had been the friend and favourite scholar of Callimachus. But offended friendship was converted into the bitterest enmity. Callimachus boasted his descent from the royal house of Cyrene[83]; and his kingly pride taking umbrage at some disrespectful proceeding in his pupil, lashed him in a poem entitled Ibis[84], with the utmost severity of satire. To avoid literary persecution in Alexandria, Apollonius sailed to Rhodes, a republic then intimately allied with Egypt. In this island, he polished and elaborated his poem on the Argonautic expedition, of which various parts had previously been recited at Alexandria, and heard with more censure than applause. Having finished the work to his own satisfaction, Apollonius submitted it to the umpires of taste among the Rhodians, by whom it was so highly approved, that the author was associated to the immunities and honours of their city, then, next to Athens and Alexandria, the most learned in the world. Elated with this testimony in his favour, he returned to the place of his birth; gradually sur-

[83] Thence called Battiades from king Battus. See above, Vol. I. p. 379.

[84] The name of an Egyptian bird, resembling the stork. Ovid's Ibis is well known. He imitates throughout Callimachus; and his redundancy of learning gives, in this particular, a just notion of many lost works of Alexandrian poets.

mounted the difficulties to which he had before yielded; and finally attained, in advanced age, the highest object of his ambition, having succeeded to the celebrated Eratosthenes, of whom we shall speak presently, in the superintendence of the museum and library.[85] To this distinction, his sole title, that can now be appreciated, was derived from the poem above-mentioned. It consists of four books in hexameter verse, and recounts the voyages and transactions of the Argonauts in numbers never creeping on the ground, and never soaring to the skies. Its principal fault is that of flowing with too unvaried a mediocrity.[86] It has more description than passion, more refinement than real grace, and more art than nature. Yet the pangs and struggles of Apollonius's love-sick Medea, are imitated by Virgil in the melancholy grandeur and dignified weakness of Dido; and the solemn picture of night, contrasting the tumults in the queen's breast with the still and motionless silence of all around her, is faithfully copied from the Alexandrian poet; who, though Virgil be always the more majestic, is sometimes the more affecting.[87]

The dimmest star in the poetic Pleiades is the Lycophron.

[85] Suidas.

[86] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. agreeing with Longinus, s. 33.

[87] His sentiments appear to me also sometimes more delicate, and his notions more refined, than those of either Homer or Virgil. Thus Hercules prefers Jason to himself, and Jason grieves for the woes of others more than for his own. Argonaut. l. ii. v. 637. For the second point, witness what blind Phenias says of a future state, "that he will then be delighted with splendour," &c. l. ii. v. 448.

CHAP. XI.

muddy [88] and mysterious Lycophron. Neither the oracular responses of Delphi, nor the Sibylline [89] verses, nor other parallel productions of priest-craft and superstition, had yet been combined among the Greeks into any long-continued texture of prophetical poetry. At length the Cassandra of Lycophron made its appearance, in the same age when the Hebrew volumes being first unrolled to prophane view, might be expected to excite this unequal competition and feeble rivalry of the Muses. But the hallowed strains of Sion, defying imitation in their awful sublimity, are surpassed by Lycophron in elaborate darkness. In the ravings of Cassandra or Alexandra, for his prophetess had both names, heroes and gods are denoted by their emblems or achievements; a legendary tale is substituted for the description of a country; events are crowded in endless succession; the bounds of space and time are enlarged or contracted at pleasure; and even the distinct provinces of our senses, of all things the most clearly separate in themselves, are amalgamated and confounded [90] in the melting furnace of an over-heated fancy. Amidst all this wildness of disorder, Cassandra,

[88] Carmina Battiadæ, tenebræque Lycophronis *atri*. Statius.

[89] The Sibylla was an Eolian: her name, derived from two Greek words in the Eolian dialect, σιος and βυλη, denoted her character of prophetess. Her supposed verses, it is well known, became a state engine among the Romans, descended, as will be shewn, from the Eolians.

[90] Flashes are heard and shrieks are seen.

Οιμωγη δε μοι
Εν ωσι πυργων εξ ακρων ινδαλλεται.
Alexand. v. 254.

CHAP. XI.

commencing with the ill-fated voyage of Paris to Lacedæmon, sketches out, however, the general history of the Trojan war, expatiating on the disasters which followed it, and the adventures of the Grecian chiefs, particularly those of Ulysses. She next adverts, in the darkest imagery, to the two great original causes of hostility between the eastern and western continents; the rape of Europa and the expedition of the Argonauts: and then traces these original land-marks, and exuberant fountains of fable, through all the occurrences connected with them, down to the Ptolemæan age. Xerxes's expedition into Greece is a bright and prominent object, and many passages in it excite the mixed emotions of pity and terror. After repeated perusals, Lycophron, according to associations created by differences of studies and pursuits, will appear to some readers altogether unworthy of the pains necessary to be bestowed on him; by others, when verbal difficulties are surmounted, the Cassandra will be prized as a rich mythological epitome, in the richest and most beautiful of all languages.

Nicander.

Nicander of Colophon is commonly numbered as the seventh and last of the Pleiades. He wrote Georgics[91] and Metamorphoses[92]; but his remains are now reduced to two compositions in heroic verse, to which Plutarch denies[93] the rank of poems, because they are altogether des-

[91] Cicero de Orator. De rebus rusticis Nicander scripsit præclare.
[92] Schol. in Apollon. l. i. et Athenæus, l. iii. p. 82.
[93] De audiend. poetis.

CHAP. XI.

titute of poetical invention. Both treat of poisons; the first, of those communicated externally by the bite or sting of animals: the second, of those applied internally, or received into the stomach. Such subjects were interesting in Egypt, a country abounding in venomous reptiles: they were important in other parts of the empire, disgraced by too much practice, as well as theory, in the art of preparing poisons.

The four schools.

In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the four new schools of Alexandria, owing their establishment to the preceding reign, continued to flourish in great vigour: namely, those of grammar, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. In the last-named of these departments, the physicians Erasistratus and Herophilus were succeeded by Philinus and Serapion. Philinus carried on the labours of his predecessors with so much success, that he is deemed the founder of the empiric or experimental sect.[94] Serapion, his contemporary, and a native of Alexandria, enjoyed high celebrity; and from this time forward, the science of medicine struck such deep root in that city, and received so many improvements from the professors or practitioners there, that a physician was much recommended in all succeeding ages of antiquity, by the circumstance of having prosecuted his studies in the Egyptian capital.

Of medicine.

Concerning the geometers, who immediately followed Euclid[95], there is much obscurity, till the light breaks forth in Apollonius and Archimedes,

Of geometry and astronomy.

[94] Galen, tom. iv. p. 372.

[95] See above, p. 130.

CHAP. XI.

of whom, as belonging to a later period, we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. The astronomers Aristillus and Timocharis found a worthy successor in Aristarchus of Samos. An observation of Aristarchus at Alexandria applies to the year[96] two hundred and eighty-one before the Christian æra, that is, to the fourth year of Philadelphus's reign. He is the author of a work concerning the distances and magnitude of the sun and moon[97], in which, he enlarged the boundaries of the solar system; and though his conclusions on this subject remained far short of the truth, they yet convinced him of the stability of the sun, and of the diurnal and annual motions of the earth.[98] It was objected to him, that upon the supposition of the earth's motion, the fixed stars, as viewed from this wandering world, must be continually changing their position with regard to each other. He answered by saying, that the whole of the earth's orbit round the sun was little better than a point in comparison of the heavens. Such doctrines exposed Aristarchus to the censure of men who assumed the name of philosophers, but who, as we have seen, were mere sectaries. Cleanthes, deemed the prince of the stoics in that age, accused[99] him of shaking with rude impiety the throne of Vesta, an ancient and venerable goddess, since daughter

Aristarchus of Samos.

[96] Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax.

[97] Aristarch. de Magnitud. et Distant. Solis et Lunæ in Oper. Wallisii, Oxon. 1699.

[98] Archimed. in Ψαμμητης, p. 120. et seq. Conf. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1.

[99] Plutarch. de Facie in Orb. Lun. p. 923.

CHAP. XI.

to Saturn and Rhea.[100] To Vesta, besides, an important function was assigned. She was the patroness of fixed habitations, of settled or civilized life. Her domain was near the earth's centre; and her sacred seat was always represented firm and immoveable.[101] By this and other objections, scarcely more weighty, the philosophy of Aristarchus was repressed through many succeeding centuries. At length, however, it emerged by its native merit. Tables more perfect than those of which he had set the example, were constructed of the distances and motions of the planets, from the contemplation of which Kepler in 1680, discovered that the squares of their periodic times are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances. This law, together with that of falling bodies previously ascertained by Galileo, prepared the way for the astronomy of the great Newton, which the labours of the Alexandrian school, particularly of Apollonius and Archimedes, perfected by his own admirable sagacity, enabled that incomparable geometer to establish on strict mathematical demonstration.

Mixed mathematics.

Before the establishment of that school, philosophers were acquainted[102] with the rectilinear propagation of light, the equality between the angles of incidence and reflection, and that great principle of moving force, according to which weight is balanced by velocity; a principle expanded or ramified in what are called the five

[100] Hesiod, Theogon. [101] Ovid. Fast. l. vi.

[102] See my New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy.

mechanic powers. On the basis of these observations or facts, they began to rear the fabric of mixed mathematics; light, matter, and motion were subjected to the search of their own severe geometry: and great proficiency was attained in all those ingenious arts, which, either in peace or war, form the most unequivocal distinction between civilized and barbarous nations; and whose highest reaches of improvement were conspicuous in their military works and engines, as well as in their great civil monuments. In the latter years of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the most distinguished engineer was Ctesibius[103], a native of Ascra in Bœotia, the birth-place of old Hesiod. His scholars were Beto and Hero, whose treatises on the construction of missile weapons have come down to modern times. Hero's books on pneumatic and hydraulic machines are also preserved, and highly deserving of attention, although, in that work, the moving powers of water and air are employed in producing effects rather surprising than useful. Fragments also remain of his treatise on Automata, or self-moving figures. In the hands of Hero, and still more of his successors, science thus came to be directed to the purposes of recreation and pastime; and on this score chiefly was patronised, as we shall see, by the latter Egyptian and Syrian kings; princes unfit for

The engineers Ctesibius and Hero.

[103] Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. Conf. Vitruvius Architect. in Præfat. l. vii. & Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

CHAP. XI.

business, and often addicted to the most childish amusements.

Grammarians.—Eratosthenes.

At the head of the grammarians in this reign, it is fit to place Eratosthenes, though he flourished towards the latter part of it, and was first appointed to preside over the museum and library under the third Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes. Though he is called a grammarian, a word then synonymous with a philologer or critic, he attained great eminence as a philosopher and mathematician; and if not an admired poet, was at least a writer of correct and elegant verses.[104] His chronological canons are praised by one of the most accurate of historians.[105] He was an improver of geography as well as of chronology. He was the first who traced a parallel of latitude, regulated by the day's greatest length; namely 14.5 hours. This parallel passed from the pillars of Hercules through the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, the island of Rhodes, and then forward through the great eastern regions of Assyria and Ariana to the mountains of India.[106] Eratosthenes measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, and ascertained with a considerable degree of accuracy the circumference of the earth at 250,000 stadia[107]; about 25,000 miles. He also invented

[104] Longin. de Sublim. s. 33.

[105] Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 60.

[106] Strabo, l. ii. p. 67. et seq.

[107] The segment of the meridian chosen for this purpose was that between Alexandria and Syené, places distant from each other 5000 stadia. Having obtained this measure from Ptolemy's surveyors,

the armillæ, a combination of circles representing the celestial sphere. This valuable instrument of science he erected in the great portico of Alexandria, where it was used by succeeding astronomers in observing the equinoxes, and in determining, without the aid of trigonometry, the longitude and latitude of stars.[108] Notwithstanding these important pursuits, philology[109] and antiquities formed the favourite province of Eratosthenes. He was a copious writer on both these subjects; but of all his compositions nothing has come down to us, except his short tract on the constellations, with an abstract of the fables which gave rise to their names; his account of the mesolabe, or instrument for finding between two lines two mean proportionals; and his measure of the earth, reported by Cleomedes, who lived many centuries after him.[110] His distinguished merit could not exempt him from the malice of detractors. Even his wonderful variety of talents,

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(per mensores regios Ptolemæi. Martian. Capella, l. vi. p. 194.) and knowing that Syené lay directly under the northern tropic, he waited the time when the sun was vertical at Syené to observe a style raised from the bottom of a concave sphere at Alexandria, and finding the shadow projected on the spherical concavity to be a fiftieth part of the whole circumference, he concluded the 5000 stadia between Syené and Alexandria to be a fiftieth part of the circumference of a great circle of the earth. Cleomedes de Globi Terrestris Mensura.

[108] Ptolem. Mathem. Syntax. l. iii. c. 2.

[109] Sueton. de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, c. 10.

[110] They are published with the Oxford Edition of Aratus. An. 1702.

CHAP. XI.

so assiduously and so successfully employed, were seized as the handle for contemptuous obloquy. He was entitled *Beta*, as a man who had not attained the first rank in any one of the numerous objects of his pursuits.[111] His friends, with less blameable injustice, called him the pentathlete, as carrying off the palm of victory in various and heterogeneous attainments.[112]

The four sects. — Strato the Peripatetic.

The philosophers of the four different sects were as numerous at Alexandria in the reign of Philadelphus as in that of his predecessor: and those of the Peripatetic school should seem to have been distinguished with the same preference in point of royal favour and royal munificence. The respect which Demetrius Phalereus enjoyed under the first of those princes, was shown by the second to Strato, also the scholar of Theophrastus. The virtuous moral instructions of that philosopher were[113] rewarded by the king with a present of eighty Alexandrian talents, equivalent to twenty-four thousand pounds.

Sotades, the satirist.

The greatest discouragement to letters is the encouragement of vile and invidious pretenders. Philadelphus was not guilty of this error, too common with well-meaning, perhaps, but injudicious patrons. He rejected with scorn those who courted, and sometimes obtained, popular fame, by either offending decency, or by vilifying merit. Among the former, the ob-

[111] Suidas et Marcian. Heracleot. in Perip. p. 63.
[112] Plin. l. ii. c. 108. et Lucian in Macrob.
[113] Diogen. Laert. l. v. segm. 60.

scene poet Sotades of Crete held the most conspicuous place; but was treated so neglectfully by the king, that the lewd venom of his mind was most intemperately poured forth against the prince, by whose coldness he was affronted. Unfortunately, some proceedings of Ptolemy made him too fair a mark for this shameless virulence. His sister Arsinoé, formerly wife to Lysimachus of Thrace, had sufficiently displayed her character in transactions above recorded in the history of that prince. The infamy of her behaviour did not prevent Philadelphus from receiving her kindly in Egypt, and, in the eighth year of his reign, from sharing with her his throne.[114] Being too old to bear children of her own, she adopted those of his former wife[115], the daughter of Lysimachus, whose imprisonment at Coptos, in consequence of a real or pretended conspiracy, made way for the advancement of his sister, who varnished her vices with such artifice, or redeemed them by such abilities, that Ptolemy consulted her in all his affairs, and continued to doat on this profligate woman through life, with an extravagant fondness.[116] Her baneful ascendency could not fail to taint the manners of her husband. Ptolemy, with many praiseworthy quali-

[114] Schol. in Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. and Pausanias, Attic.

[115] Marm. Adulitan. In that inscription, Ptolemy Euergetes is called the son "Deorum fratrum," to mark the distinction between his adoptive and real mother; for the latter also had for name Arsinoé.

[116] Pausanias, Attic.

CHAP. XI.

ties, was disgraced by no small share of affectation and vanity, of slothful effeminacy, and refined voluptuousness.[117] The character of the court was impressed on the capital. The women of Alexandria ceased to be distinguished by that modesty and reserve, which still prevailed among females of honourable rank in ancient Greece, and in Greek settlements in all other parts of the world: and historians afterwards remarked, that of all such settlements, Alexandria alone was disgraced by the mixture of women with men in crowds and popular tumults.[118] The weak part of Ptolemy's behaviour was reprobated, in language too[119] gross to transcribe, by Sotades, who found in the same subject an opportunity for gratifying his malignity, and indulging his obscenity.[120] The petulant satirist was thrown into prison at Alexandria. He effected his escape; was retaken, however, near Caunus in Caria, by Patrocles, the most distinguished of Ptolemy's admirals; who is said (horrid to relate!) to have wrapped him in a sheet of lead, and thus consigned the impure poet to the sea.

Zoilus.

The name of Zoilus is proverbial, as a literary detracter. His trite story has been involved in chronological difficulties[121], by confounding this child of malignity and envy, who was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the time of Ptolemy

[117] Athenæus, l. xii.
[118] Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.
[119] Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 621.
[120] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 648. Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 620.
[121] Suidas, and Ælian, V. H. l. xi. c. 10.

CHAP. XI.

Philadelphus, with a pleader of causes in Athens of the same name half a century older, who was born in the Athenian colony Amphipolis, and who flourished in the reign of Philip, father to Alexander.[122] This Athenian Zoilus chose, for his model in public speaking, the well-known Lysias, an orator full of sweetness and persuasion, who, without boldness of imagery or vehemence of argument, gained his hearers by ordinary and proper terms, gracefully disposed; and by that air of frankness, truth, and candour which always shone in his discourse.[123] An author's style is the natural picture of his mind. That of the elder Zoilus was amiable and engaging, and altogether inconsistent with the malignant acrimony, for which his unworthy namesake was branded in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This opprobium to letters was not indeed deficient in terseness of expression, and plausibility of argument; ingenious witticisms to surprise, and ludicrous, though false images to provoke insolent laughter. He over-rated however his own powers, when he came to Alexandria in hopes of acquiring fame, by stigmatising the most illustrious names with deformities directly the reverse of their acknowledged beauties; reproached Xenophon with affectation, and Plato with vulgarity; arraigned Isocrates for

[122] Dion. Halicarn. de Demosthen. vehement. et in Epist. ad Pompeium.

[123] See "Life of Lysias," prefixed to my Translation of his Speeches.

CHAP. XI.

want of elegance, and Aristotle for dulness in discernment.[124] The poets were the great butts of his buffoonery, especially Homer, in whom all poetical excellence is summed up. "The reprimand of Homer" was his principal and most favourite performance. We know it only by a few low sarcasms, equally impudent and contemptible. Homer, he says, is ridiculous in the beginning of the Iliad, when he employs so great a god as Apollo in killing lazy curs. He is equally absurd in the progress of it, when he describes Diomed's helmet as blazing with fire, for then the hero must have been burnt alive by his own armour.[125] The companions of Ulysses turned by Circé into swine, Zoilus humorously called Homer's poor little blubbering gruntlings.[126] The poet, he says, knew nothing of good breeding, when he rudely thrust old Priam from Achilles's tent: and he is an absolute fool, in making Idæus quit his nimble chariot, in which, to save his life, he ought to have driven away at full speed.[127] By such impudent scurrility, this snarling growler, this cur of criticism, as he was called[128], might gratify the malignant vulgar: but he was an object of aversion to the good and great; and

[124] Ælian, ubi supra.
[125] Schol. Anonym. in Iliad v.
[126] Longin. de Sublim. s. ix.
[127] Schol. ibid.
[128] Κυων ρητορικος. Ælian, ubi supra. Strabo scoffs at him more pleasantly. "In speaking of the isle of Tenedos, Zoilus says absurdly, that the river Alpheus, in Peloponnesus, has its source in that island. Such is the fabulosity of the man who finds fault with the fables of Homer!" Strabo, l. vi. p. 271.

when he had the presumption to solicit a share in the king's bounties, Ptolemy coldly observed to him, that it was strange so great a genius, towering even above Homer, should stand in need of assistance, since the poems of Homer still furnish bread to thousands, a thousand years after the death of their author.[129] The end of Zoilus is variously related; all agree that he died in poverty and disgrace.

Characteristics of the Ptolemæan age.

The Ptolemæan age of literature, for thus the reign of Philadelphus has sometimes been distinguished, was remarkable not only for the vast number of its productions, but for the wide diversity in their subjects: history, natural and civil; poetry in all its branches; moral philosophy and criticism; geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine.[130] With much ardour for real learning, the writers of that age pursued, however, with equal eagerness, all the wildest illusions of the false. Thence, their fabulous history and visionary philosophy; their fanciful discussions concerning mysterious powers in plants and minerals; their innumerable treatises on judicial astrology; their books of travels, and voyages of discovery[131] without end, in which the most monstrous fictions are related; and thence many huge collections, on the express subject of wonders and prodigies.[132] Vari-

[129] Vitruvius, Architect. l. vii. in Præfat.

[130] See the titles of lost works of that age in Fabricius, Greek Library, b. iii. throughout.

[131] I thus translate the περιπλους.

[132] Ιστοριων παραδοξων συναγωγαι.

CHAP. XI.

ous causes concurred to mark the learning of Alexandria with a character, altogether different from that which had distinguished the learning of Athens. The fraternities devoted to arts and sciences, lodged and fed in the museum, are compared to fowls fatted in coops[133], who gain a superabundance of flesh, at the expence of raciness and flavour. If we may judge, indeed, by the remains which have come down to us, the works of the Alexandrians displayed more erudition than taste, and more art than genius.[134] Their compositions of the popular kind were calculated for the gratification of a pompous and effeminate court, of a wealthy and luxurious capital; eager for amusement, but careless of correct information. The multiplicity of pursuits distracted; the number of helps encumbered: and society, too crowded and continuous, is less favourable than solitude, to high intellectual improvement. In consequence of the change to monarchy from republicanism, Grecian eloquence declined, and carried down with it all other kinds of literary composition; sweet sometimes and artful, but greatly deficient in pith and persuasion.[135] The orator now addressed himself to individuals whose minds he was either to soothe, or at best gently to agitate, not to national assemblies, whose passions he was to rouse, whose resolutions he was to controul,

Oratory.

[133] Ταλαρον. Athenæus, l. i. p. 22.

[134] Such is Lucian's judgment. Vid. de conscribend. Historia, p. 637. Edit. Amstel.

[135] Quintilian, l. x. c. 1. & Dialog. de Orator.

and whose decrees he was, at will, either to abrogate or confirm. Thence, neither writers nor speakers assumed the same commanding attitude as formerly; and thinking less highly of themselves, reached not that majesty which overawes, and that vehemence which overwhelms. For history, the sober companion of eloquence, the exploits of Alexander offered the noblest of all subjects. Yet Hegesias and Onesecritus, with many authors of the same stamp, strangely deformed that august theme; the marvellous or puerile in their matter [136] being accompanied by new and harsh turns of expression, by periods broken and transversed, by cadences uncouth and unexpected, by sounds that wounded the ear, and phrases that perplexed the understanding. [137] CHAP. XI.

History.

In human affairs there is commonly a balance of good and evil. The ages of Alexander and the Ptolemies laid the foundation, as we have seen, of many noble improvements; yet the romantic events of the times, and the conflux into new and vast cities of heterogeneous crowds prone to deceive each other, had a tendency to corrupt the purity of philosophy as well as history. Adopting the language of eastern despotism, the sophist Anaxarchus had not blushed to tell Alexander himself, that Justice sat at the right hand of kings ready to sanction their most lawless proceedings. [138] Clearchus and other histo-

[136] Polybius and Strabo, passim.
[137] Dionys. De Structur. Orat. §. 18.
[138] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 10.

CHAP. XI.

rians accompanying that conqueror, were imposed on themselves, and are accused of wilfully imposing on their readers.[139] The delusion thickened under his immediate successors. Megasthenes and Daimachus, who, as ambassadors from Seleucus Nicator, resided successively at Palibothra, or Patna, then the great Indian capital, although they communicated much new information concerning the eastern world, yet disgraced their reports by the most ridiculous fictions: of ants, for example, large as foxes, that dug up gold; of men only three spans high; and of whole nations disfigured by ears so monstrous in magnitude, that they served the wearers for beds or coverings.[140] Timæus of Tauromenium, who wrote history at Alexandria, under the first Ptolemies, though by a pun nick-named Epitimæus from his calumny, was afterwards, from his credulity, stigmatised in a single Greek word, denoting the collector of old women's stories.[141] A contemporary and far more daring romancer was Evhemerus of Messené, the agent and confidential friend of Cassander, who, in the partition of Alexander's empire, obtained the kingdom of Macedon. By that inquisitive and politic prince, Evhemerus was often employed in remote eastern embassies. In one of these missions, he embarked, according to his own narrative, at a harbour on the coast of Arabia Felix, and thence entering the

Megasthenes and Daimachus.

Timæus.

Evhemerus.

[139] Strabo, l. xv. p. 693. [140] Strabo, ibid. p. 706, 707.
[141] Γραμματιδιον. Suidas et Hesychius.

ocean, discovered far distant from the continent of Asia, several valuable islands, of which the principal was Panchaia. This place he chose for the scene of wonders greater and bolder than any that his rivals had invented, since the lies of other Greek travellers were often a sort of pious frauds, whereas the tale of Evhemerus was told with a view to discredit and subvert the whole system of idolatry. I will not enter into his description of the unrivalled felicity of Panchaia, a country far surpassing the Happy Arabia itself. Let it suffice to observe that six miles from its capital, Panara, there was a lofty mountain called the throne of heaven, adorned by a magnificent temple of white marble, which, among other monuments of inestimable value, contained a golden pillar, inscribed with hieroglyphics. In decyphering this inscription, Evhemerus unmasked the whole delusion of pagan worship: Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, with the whole tribe of Grecian gods, he found to have been mere mortals, several of them great conquerors, and all of them illustriously distinguished in arts or arms.[142] Such is the *sacred history*, interpreted by Evheremus from hieroglyphics into Greek, and translated a century afterwards from Greek into Latin, by the poet Ennius. Though all critics of discernment, with Eratosthenes at their head, the credulous Plutarch, and the incredulous Strabo and Polybius, reject with

CHAP. XI.

[142] Diodorus Siculus, l. v. s. 42. et seq. Conf. Fragment. l. vi. p. 655.

CHAP. XI.

scorn the description, and even the existence of Panchaia, yet the name became current at Rome through the verses of Ennius, and was made familiar to the world, by the poetry of Lucretius[143] and Virgil[144]; both of them Epicureans in philosophy, and as such, not unwilling to abet what was deemed by the vulgar, the atheism of Evhemerus.

Berosus and Manetho.

The wildest fables of the Greeks were countenanced and surpassed by those of the Barbarians, who adopted their language, and abused their credulity. Soon after the building of Alexandria, this new capital of Egypt was filled, as we have seen, by a mixed assemblage of nations, and particularly by a large colony of Jews, who, in the reign of the first Ptolemy, translated into Greek the five books of Moses, which they called collectively the Law.[145] The appearance of a work which reflected such unparalleled honour on a diminutive province, and at that time an obscure people, seems to have piqued the national pride of the Babylonians and Egyptians. These once illustrious cultivators of arts and sciences, found ready champions in the priests Berosus and Manetho, who, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, also translated into the Greek language, the history and antiquities of their respective countries. Berosus dedicated his work, which, under the

[143] Lucret. l. ii. v. 407. [144] Georg. l. ii. v. 139.

[145] See this subject ably treated in Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Part ii. Book i.

CHAP. XI.

title of history, comprehended a strange admixture of mythology and astrology[146], to Antiochus Soter, then master of Babylon, or rather Seleucia-Babylonia, and all the dependent provinces in Upper Asia. At whatever period this work was composed, it must have been presented by its author in the extremity of old age, since the accession of Antiochus did not happen till forty-three years after Alexander's death: and before that event, Berosus had flourished at Babylon, as a priest of Belus.[147] Having learned the Greek tongue, he travelled through different countries and islands inhabited by Greeks[148]; taught astronomy and astrology at Cos, the famed birth-place of Hippocrates; and carrying with him the same sciences to Athens, gained such renown in that superstitious city, by the authenticity of his predictions, that he was honoured with a statue in the principal place of public exercise.[149]

Berosus's Babylonian history.

In the history inscribed to Antiochus, the priest of Babylon still further insulted Grecian credulity, by tracing back the antiquity of that city to a period of four hundred and seventy-three thousand years before the Macedonian conquest.[150] With regard to the flood, as well as the transactions of Noah, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus, his narrative nearly coincided with

[146] Των καρ' Χαλδαιοις φιλοσοφεμενων. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. s. 19.

[147] Tatian. advers. Gent. [148] Vitruvius, Architect. l. ix. c. 7.

[149] Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

[150] Syncell. Chronol. p. 17. et seq. Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 31.

CHAP. XI.

the Hebrew annals.[151] But whenever forsaken by this aid, all was impenetrable obscurity or wild inconsistency. The dark chasm of fathomless ages was partly filled up by barren lists of fabulous kings; while the palpable defect of satisfactory information was excused by a fiction still more palpable, namely, that Nabonassar, who is said to have reigned at Babylon only 747 years before Christ, desirous of passing with posterity for the founder of the Assyrian empire, had destroyed all the historical monuments of his numberless predecessors.[152] Should this assertion be admitted, what are we to think of the records long anterior to Nabonassar, which Berosus with strange impudence professes to have carefully copied?

Manetho's Egyptian history

Manetho, a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, endeavoured to convince his patron Ptolemy Philadelphus, that this magnificent prince governed a people not less venerable than the Babylonians, subject to his rival, the king of Syria. To Ptolemy, Manetho dedicated his translation into Greek of the antiquities of Egypt; according to which work, that country had been long governed by the gods. The reigns of these beneficent sovereigns were described in orderly succession, many of them exceeding the period of a thousand years: Vulcan's administration alone amounted to nine times that number.[153] In some collateral points

[151] Josephus, ubi supra. [152] Syncell. Chronol. p. 207.
[153] Syncell. p. 270. Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 44.

of history, the Egyptian priest accords with the writings of Moses, but, except where guided by this sacred light, his narrative, as Josephus convincingly argues, is fraught with the wildest absurdity, and sometimes poisoned by the grossest calumny.[154]

The Jews adopt the Greek learning and arts of imposture.

The divine oracles, long carefully preserved by them, raised the Jews above such extravagant fictions and such monstrous chronology. But after their captivity in Babylon, and especially after their acquaintance with the Greek language, even this people, who ought to have disdained such unnecessary artifices, did not remain exempt from the contagion of literary imposture, as those religious romances called the Apochrypha still testify; and Aristeas's well known story of the seventy-two interpreters[155], with all the marvellous circumstances belonging to it, should seem to have been invented shortly after the Egyptian and Chaldæan forgeries abovementioned. It is treated as an authentic work by Aristobulus, an Hellenistic Jew; like Aristeas himself, under the disguise of a Greek philosopher. In the extreme of national partiality, Aristobulus maintained that Pythagoras, Plato, and other learned luminaries of Greece, had borrowed all their science and knowledge from the Old Testament.[156]

[154] Joseph. cont. Apion, l. i. c. 25. et seq.

[155] Vid. Arist. de S. Script. Interpret. Oxford, An. 1692. & Prideaux Old and New Testament connected, p. ii. b. 1. p. 44, &c.

[156] Clement. Alexand. Strom. i. et v. et Euseb. Præparat. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12.

CHAP. XI.

Circumstances which occasioned this.

Strange as this opinion must appear to those conversant with the history and genius of the two nations, circumstances were not wanting to give it in that age an air of plausibility. From their classic compositions preceding the Macedonian conquest, the Greeks could not discover any indication of their early intercourse with the Jews either as teachers or disciples: much less could the natives of Palæstine find any notices of such connection in the sacred records entrusted to their care, and religiously transmitted by them to their posterity. But as the Greeks, shortly after Alexander's expedition, began to blend and amalgamate, as it were, their traditionary or written knowledge with oriental allegories and fables, so the Jews, at a still earlier period, had made such blameable additions to their divine Scriptures, as fitted them to mix, in some measure, and harmonize, either with the follies of superstition, or the absurdities of false philosophy. We shall briefly explain how these corruptions were introduced and rendered general, first among the Jews, and afterwards among the Greeks.

The oral law taught by the Masorites and Cabbalists.

It is a well-known doctrine, of the former, at least as ancient as Ezra, by whom the sacred text was revised and solemnly published four centuries and a half before the Christian æra, that God, when he gave the law to Moses on mount Sinai, also taught him its true reading called Masorah, and its true interpretation called Cabbala. The former of these uncouth words literally signifies "delivery," and the

latter, "reception;" and both collectively refer to the same complex notion of a knowledge handed down from antiquity, and uniformly received through successive generations.[157] The Masorites and Cabbalists, who were the guardians and teachers of these traditions, greatly multiplied after the age of Ezra, and particularly in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when the spirit of fiction exerted its greatest vigour. From this time forward, the Masorites and Cabbalists maintained a boundless authority, and the fables on which it was founded increasing like snowballs as they devolved from one age to another, were finally collected in the reign of Antoninus Pius into a work called the Mishnah, that is, the second or oral law by Rabbi Judah, then master of the Jewish school at Tiberias in Galilee. The Mishnah was received with the utmost veneration by the Hebrews at home and abroad, and became the principal study of their learned men, particularly in Babylonia and Palæstine. The Rabbis of both those countries commented the Mishnah in what is called the Gemara, or complement, because in it their whole traditionary knowledge is supposed to be summed up. The Mishnah is the text, the Gemara the comment; and both collectively form the Talmuds, one of Jerusalem, published about the beginning of the fourth century, and the other the Babylonian, published two hundred years afterwards. The Babylonish Talmud is far the

The Mishnah.

The Gemara.

The Talmuds.

[157] See on this subject, Prideaux, p. 1. b. v. throughout.

CHAP. XI.

bulkier of the two, the proper Alcoran of the Jews, though the imposture originated at a far earlier period in those vile fictions which made our Saviour declare to the Scribes and Pharisees, that "they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions."[158] In consequence of these fabulous traditions, and particularly of the prevalent fashion of allegorical interpretation in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Jews, gradually adapted their religious opinions to the taste of their conquerors, while some of their learned men imbibed so completely the philosophy, which, as we shall see presently, began to be taught in Alexandria in that reign under the usurped names of Pythagoras and Plato, that it might be difficult, for an ordinary reader, to distinguish which were the copies, and which the originals.[159]

The corrupters of Greek philosophy.—Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended Pythagoreans.

At the time when the Jews were most busy in polluting their religion by a spurious philosophy, the Greeks were not less perversely employed in corrupting their philosophy, so as to make it blend with the vilest superstition. This was effected under the first Ptolemies by Diodorus of Aspendus, and other pretended followers of Pythagoras, who laboured to adapt the tenets of that wise and great man, to the

[158] Mark, c. vii. v. 13.

[159] Philo Judæus cited by Photius, Cod. c. v. p. 278. But long before Philo, who flourished An. Dom. 40, we find in the Jewish writers under the Ptolemies the doctrines and even the technical expressions of the Platonic school of Alexandria. See particularly the apochryphal book, entitled the Wisdom of Solomon.

dark imaginations and childish credulity of the Egyptians.[160] The coadjutors of these pretended Pythagoreans, who acted the same part under the Ptolemies that the new Platonicians did under the Roman emperors, were the lying voyagers Diogenes Antonius, Hermippus of Smyrna, and others shortly before and after them, who, in their travels through different countries of the East, had learned to give such an account of the sages of ancient Greece as suited oriental prejudice and oriental credulity.[161] As the extravagant work of Diogenes can, as far as I know, be read only in the Greek library of Photius, I shall subjoin a brief account of it for the purpose of illustrating my present subject.

Diogenes Antonius.

This Diogenes is placed by Photius above four centuries before Diogenes Laertius, that is, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt. "His voyage to Thulé" is written in the dramatic form[162], a mode of composition highly fashionable with the Greeks since the celebrity acquired by the dialogues of Xenophon and Plato. The story is told by Deinias an Arcadian to a party of his countrymen sent to solicit his return from Tyre to the place of his birth. Deinias, who was far advanced in life, refused to listen to this honourable invitation from the public assembly of his commonwealth, but endeavoured to com-

[160] Conf. Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. p. 165. et Jamblich. in Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

[161] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1. et Diogen. Laert. l. viii. seqm. 40. et seq.

[162] Vid. Phot. Cod. clxvi. p. 365. et seq.

CHAP. XI.

pensate to his fellow-citizens for their fruitless voyage to Phœnicia, by entertaining them with the curious history of his own travels by sea and land. With three other Arcadians, as he related, and his son Democharès, he left Greece in quest of knowledge, passed through Asia Minor, crossed the Caspian sea, climbed the Riphæan mountains, and traversing regions of eternal winter, entered the ocean surrounding the globe, and encircled it from the rising sun to the western island of Thulé. In this island he found a hospitable resting-place after his long and various navigation, and here too he found Dercyllis, a Tyrian damsel of great beauty and accomplishments, who, like himself, was distinguished by the amazing series of her adventures. Confidence and affection naturally grew up between congenial minds. Dercyllis entertained the Arcadian by telling how, in company with her brother Mantinias, she had been obliged to fly from Tyre through the machinations of Paapis an Egyptian priest. This priest, they had received and kindly entertained as an unfortunate exile, but, upon further acquaintance, had discovered him, to their infinite sorrow, to be a deep and detestable magician. Through the suggestions of this villanous impostor, the unhappy children administered by way of remedy to their drooping parents, preparations that suspended their vital powers, and enchanted them into a state of death-like slumber. Afflicted at this involuntary parricide, they had sailed from their native land, visited many countries, and beheld

many wonders. Having touched at Sicily, they had the mortification to meet there the accursed Paapis; but, to punish his cruelty and perfidy, contrived to steal the scrip inclosing his books, and the casket containing his medicated herbs. With these instruments of his magic, they escaped into Italy. At Metapontum they learned that the traitor was in pursuit of them. Their informer was the philosopher Astraeus whom in the course of their travels, they had formerly met with; Astraeus, companion to the famed Zamolxis, himself a disciple of Pythagoras, and legislator among his countrymen the Getæ, by whom he was successively revered as a prophet, and worshipped as a god. To avoid the encounter of Paapis, the young Tyrians accompanied Astraeus to the country of the Getæ. The tedious part of the journey was beguiled by many wonderful stories concerning Pythagoras; his travels and discoveries, family and disciples. From Astraeus, or rather from Zamolxis at his desire, the travellers also learned the extraordinary events that were speedily to befal themselves. According to his prediction, they sailed to Thulé; and being followed even to that extremity of the world, by the vengeful Paapis, were reduced by him through a seemingly very inadequate spell into the state of dead persons in the day-time, though they regularly revived in the night. Their cause was espoused by an amorous native of Thulé, who, at the sight of Dercyllis whom he supposed dead, slew first the magician, and then himself. The means of dis-

CHAP. XI.

enchanting the young Tyrians, as well as their aged parents, were finally discovered in examining the purloined books of Paapis. Such are the wild fictions, which Diogenes endeavoured to sanction by a forged letter from Balachrus, one of the least conspicuous among Alexander's captains. In this strange epistle, written by Balachrus to his wife residing in Macedon, he relates, that Alexander, upon the taking and burning of Tyre, was accosted by a soldier, who intimated his having an extraordinary communication to make to him: that, accompanied by Parmenio and Hephæstion, Alexander followed the soldier to a place at a little distance from the demolished city, and was there shown by him certain sepulchral urns under ground, composed of stone, and containing several legible inscriptions; particularly those relating to the heroes of the above story, "as Deinias the Arcadian lived a hundred and twenty-five years, Dercyllis and Mantinias lived respectively thirty-nine and forty-two years, but both of them, in addition to these different periods of time, lived a certain, and that the same precise number of nights." This ænigma was explained by discovering on the wall of the cavern, a cypress casket, on which Alexander and his companions read the following words: Whoever thou art, O Stranger! open this casket, and learn things worthy of admiration. They opened, and read on cypress tablets the adventures of Deinias and Dercyllis; adventures entirely controuled by the same kind of machinery which prevails in the Arabian Nights.

Entertainments, and in the oldest romances of chivalry. If Diogenes lived under Ptolemy Soter, he should appear to have been the first Grecian who disgraced his composition with such vile unclassical fictions: and Hermippus of Smyrna, the scholar of Callimachus, is the first writer of that nation who treated *circumstantially* concerning magic; that immemorial folly of the East, enslaving the credulous mind by the triple chain of superstition, astrology, and medicine. [163]

From this time forward, and in consequence of such writings as those of Diogenes, Hermippus, and Timæus, who interwove in his history a romantic account of Pythagoras and the Italic school, it came to be a prevailing opinion that the greatest philosophers in Greece were only the greatest of magicians. Pliny assures us of the fact; and inconsistently with his pretended contempt for magic, treats Democritus and Plato as abettors of that futile art, in which he believes them to have made great proficiency. [164] But the copious writings of Plato convincingly refute such an extravagant imputation.

The Platonicians.

In this manner, the corruption of philosophy early began at Alexandria with the falsification of history. The evil was perpetuated by those pretended lovers of wisdom, who, travelling over the Macedonian conquests in the East, collected every rite of sanctity and every tale

[163] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 1.

[164] Id. ibid

CHAP. XI.

of wonder; and who, in contempt of the judicious maxim, "never to intermix the concerns of philosophy with those of the popular superstition[165]," made it their great endeavour to combine philosophy and mythology into one system, to defend as well as embellish truth by fiction, and whether they laboured, as was usual, to fortify the established belief, or aimed, like Evhemerus, at discrediting the gods of their ancestors, to effect either purpose by new-invented fables and lying prodigies. Their falsehoods and absurdities devolved with continual accumulation from age to age, until towards the commencement of the third century of the Christian æra, the philosophers of Alexandria, under the name of Eclectics or Platonicians, corrupted or confounded the tenets, abolished the authority, and almost the name, of all the more ancient and less visionary sects.[166]

Arts of imitation or design.

The unclouded renown of Philadelphus's reign consisted in the splendour of the arts. Of all Greek kings (Alexander only excepted) he kept the greatest number of eminent artists in his pay. In this particular, his predecessor Ptolemy Soter had been rivalled by Seleucus Nicator, contemporary with that prince; but though Seleucia-Babylonia was a far greater city than Alexandria, the arts of imitation or design, if we except only the Syrian coins above men-

[165] Περι των μυθικως σοφιζομενων, ουκ αξιον μετα σπουδης σκοπειν. Aristot. Metaphys. l. ii. c. 4.

[166] See the supplement to my New Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Philosophy, p. 197. 3d edit.

tioned, never struck such deep root there, or reached such a flourishing height. Alexandria had an easy maritime communication with Greece from which all refined arts flowed; whereas Seleucia was only a great inland emporium, at an immense distance from the mother-country, and cut off from the Greek colonies in Lesser Asia by mountains and deserts. Egypt, besides, was peculiarly productive in materials for ornamental architecture and for statuary. Its finest marbles, which had long been disfigured by an uncouth superstition, were fashioned by Greek artists into the perfect forms of ideal beauty. The Grecian gods and heroes claimed the first care both of the king and of those who were patronised by him; but among the innumerable statues erected in Egypt in that reign, contemporary merit met with its due reward, nor could such honours be withheld from the Olympic victors, sometimes Ptolemy's subjects, natives of Alexandria. The epithet Philadelphian became proverbial to express expence employed with taste; and this taste appeared alike in the greatest and the smallest productions, from the lofty column and magnificent temple to the elegant medal or polished gem; particularly the miniature portraits of Arsinoé in chrystal, cut by Satyrius.[167] Such minute labours are deserving of notice, because by them only we can now estimate the reports delivered down to us concerning the

[167] Anthолog. l. iv. c. 18.

CHAP. XI.

wonderful splendour of public buildings, either in the cities embellished by Ptolemy, or in those which he founded. From motives of vanity or superstition, he was careful, like other princes his contemporaries, to perpetuate, in works of architecture, his name and surname. Acco, at the northern extremity of the Holy Land, being repaired and strengthened by him, was called Ptolemais: and Rabba Ammon, on the other side Jordan, obtained in like manner the name of Philadelphia[168]; a name which continued to prevail; whereas the old appellation of Acco again revived, and, being corrupted into Acre, was destined in that harsh word to convey a sound pleasing to Christians, who there triumphed over Mahometans; and more recently to Englishmen, a handful of whom in Acre foiled an army of French.

Improvement of Alexandria.

Philadelphus was industrious in improving the commercial advantages of his capital, and in adorning it with temples, palaces, theatres, hippodromes, and gymnasia. Alexandria, under his predecessor, already displayed its spacious and well-ventilated streets; its copious supplies of fresh water; its double harbour, separated by the Heptastadium; its light-house on the isle of Pharos; and its magnificent temple to Serapis. But numerous benefits still remained to be conferred on it. Of these, history does not enable us to ascertain the date; though the principal of them may warrantably be ascribed

[168] Vid. Reland. Palæstin. Illustrat.

to Philadelphus.[169] The ports open to the sea (we shall speak presently of those on the lake Mareotis) were constructed to afford the utmost safety; the inner part of Eunostus, above-mentioned, was emphatically styled the ark or coffer[170]; and so deep were both harbours at the water's edge, that the largest vessels laid their sides on the graduated keys, called ladders[171], on which their cargoes were unloaded. The southern walls of the city were washed by the lake Mareotis. This lake, now much shrunk in dimensions, was thirty miles long and fifteen broad. It was diversified by eight islands: its banks teemed with inhabitants: by one canal it communicated with the harbour Eunostus, and by another with the Canopic branch of the Nile. The harbours on the lake were not less busy than those on the sea-coast; beautiful villages rose on both sides of them. The eastern suburb was distinguished by the vast hippodrome; the scene, as we shall see, of many extraordinary occurrences. On this side, chiefly, innumerable canals strayed through rich fields sheltered from the sun's rays by the green luxuriance of their produce. A kind of bean, in particular, was so lofty, and had leaves so large and thick, that parties of pleasure frequented these cool plantations in barges or

[169] Pausan. Attic. & Philo Judæus de Vit. Mosis.

[170] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

[171] Ὡστε την μεγιστην ναυν επι κλιμακος ἑρμειν. Strabo. Conf. Joseph de Bell. Jud. l. v. Thence the origin of the French expression "Les Echelles de Levant."

CHAP. XI.

banquetting vessels.[172] The whole country round, (now deformed by barrenness and dreary solitude,) breathed activity, life, and pleasure. Even the little island Pharos, in addition to its far-famed tower, came to be adorned with many other superb edifices, and was copiously provided with fresh water, poured into it from the Nile by hydraulic engines.

Its inhabitants—their employments.

The general population of this great city, (of the learned inhabitants of the museum we have above spoken,) though formed from an assemblage of different nations, was gradually moulded into much sameness of character. The most praise-worthy qualities belonging to the Alexandrians, were industry and ingenuity. Throughout the whole place, none lived in idleness; and here many occupations were skilfully exercised, unknown or disregarded in other Greek cities. Many Alexandrians laboured in blowing glass: others were employed in softening and smoothing the papyrus: weaving linen and brewing beer were very ordinary trades: the blind and lame, even those lame in their hands, had tasks assigned to them, not incompatible with their several infirmities.[173] The rich were, in a different way, not less diligent; some superintending their large manufactures; others augmenting their fortunes by commercial enterprise: and if

[172] Strabo, ubi supra.

[173] Saturninus apud Flav. Vopisc. in Histor. August. p. 297. Edit. Franc. An. 1788. Conf. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. c. iii. This character of them remounts to the earliest times of the city. Plutarch, Strabo, Polybius.

the Ptolemies shared amply in both sources of profit, their gains were laudably expended in great public undertakings.

Royal palace—its vastness.

The vastness of the royal palace excites, indeed, an idea of idle superfluity of grandeur. It is said to have equalled a fourth-part of the city.[174] But this observation can apply only to the times of the latter kings, for the most part weak princes, who vied in surpassing each other in works of extravagance and vanity.[175] They should seem to have continually enlarged the ancient royal residence in Bruchion, by edifices communicating through covered galleries with

[174] Και τα βασιλεια, τεταρτον η και τριτον τε παντος περιβολε μερος. Strabo. "That the palaces were a fourth or even a third part of the whole enclosure." The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprise us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, p. 473. is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavours to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had confiscated the houses and gardens of opulent senators, therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. Decline and Fall, c. vi. p. 161. But upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. iv. c. 1. on which this incredible account of the magnitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than *any* city, παση πολεως μειζονι. Herodian institutes not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace. He only intimates generally and indefinitely the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy through which they had to pass.

[175] Polybius, l. xv. c. 30. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793.

CHAP. XI.

each other, and therefore included under one name. Even under the first Ptolemies, the palace was connected, in this way, with the museum, the library, and the theatre of Bacchus; on which account very extraordinary dimensions might without impropriety be assigned to it.

Foreign embassies — and transition to the growth and aggrandizement of Rome.

After Philadelphus's glorious reign of thirty-eight years, the prosperity of Egypt was but imperfectly upheld, during the following twenty-five years under his son Ptolemy Euergetes. Thenceforward there was a perpetual decline, in consequence of bad policy at home and abroad, and of the general unworthiness of the Ptolemies, with one only exception in favour of the unfortunate Ptolemy VI. Philometor. Yet, after the worst of times, and when Egypt had sunk into a province of the Roman empire, its populousness amounted to 8,000,000[176]: it was doubtless much greater in the time of Philadelphus: and his foreign dominions collectively, could not, in this respect, fall short of Egypt. With such a population, and with the commerce, revenues, fleets, and armies above detailed, Ptolemy had nothing to fear from any other Greek king; much less, as it might seem, from any power beyond the pale of the Macedonian empire. The first war between Carthage and Rome, which lasted twenty-four years, began nineteen, before Philadelphus's demise. Of the two parties engaged in that obstinate conflict, Carthage was naturally the object of most

[176] Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4.

jealousy, from her vicinity to Cyrené, and her long rivalship with that Egyptian dependency. Accordingly, when in the middle of the war, the Carthaginians applied to Ptolemy for assistance, he declined compliance with their request; and even denied to them the loan of 2000 talents.[177] In excuse of this last refusal, he told them that the money, which they demanded, was incompatible with an amity of twenty years subsisting between Egypt and Rome: For Ptolemy, with a due attention to foreign affairs, had, upon the repulse of Pyrrhus, which left the Romans masters of the southern coasts of Italy, sent an embassy of congratulation to Rome, and received from that republic another embassy in return.[178] The transaction was on both sides marked with much dignity; and first brought into notice with the Greek kings of the East, a commonwealth which was speedily to interfere with decisive prepondérancy in all their concerns.

CHAP. XI.

[177] Appian, Excerpt. de Rebus Siculis, vol. i. p. 92. Edit. Schweigh.
[178] Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

CHAP. XII.

Distinctions between the Greek Colonies in Latium, and those in Magna Græcia. — Foundation of Rome. — Views and Institutions of Romulus. — Parallel between Rome and Athens. — Wars of the Romans under the Kings. — Improvements of Rome, in point of Strength, Beauty, and Salubrity. — Wars with the Tarquins. — Italian Wars under the Consuls. — How the Æqui and Volsci were enabled to resist two Centuries. — Siege of Veii. — Legionary order of Battle. — Rome taken by the Gauls. — Destruction of these Invaders. — War with the Samnites. — Rebellion of the Latins and Campanians. — Settlement of the Roman Conquests. — War with Palæpolis. — Jealousy of Tarentum. — Her Artifices for embroiling Rome with the Lucanians and Samnites. — Caudine Forks. — The Romans protect Thurii. — Survey the Coast of Magna Græcia. — Pyrrhus chosen General of Tarentum. — His Expeditions into Italy and Sicily. — The Romans subdue the continental Part of Magna Græcia. — Causes of the first Punic War. — Its History. — Sicily divided between the Romans and King Hiero.

CHAP. XII.

Connection of this history.

THE Greeks, at once a commercial and warlike people, connected, by their colonies and conquests, the transactions of the ancient world. In the reign of Ptolemy Soter, the affairs of the East were brought into contact with those of the West, through the bold ambition of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the connection was renewed through

CHAP. XII.

the adventurous spirit of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. But before the expedition of the former of these kings into Africa, and of the latter into Italy, and precisely in the same year that Alexander died at Babylon, the Romans having extended their dominion or their ascendancy to the confines of Magna Græcia, first began to make war on the Greek city Palæpolis, and to be viewed with fear or jealousy by Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium, and other maritime emporiums belonging to the same nation in Italy.[1]

Makes it necessary to explain the maxims and proceedings of the Romans, before they engaged in war with Magna Græcia. Olymp. cxiv. i. B. C. 324. U. C. 430.

These once flourishing seaports had suffered a sad reverse of fortune, since the abolition of their Pythagorean laws, and the destruction of their Pythagorean magistrates. From that time forward, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, whose territories collectively boasted the name of Magna Græcia, had been distressed by foreign invaders, and by domestic tyrants, but more uniformly afflicted under the ignominious yoke of unbridled democracy.[2] In such a wretched situation of affairs, without vigour or union among themselves, Pyrrhus was summoned to their succour. Alexander, king of Epirus, had perished by treachery in Italy, forty-three years before this crisis, after successfully defending the Greek colonies there, against the barbarous natives in their neighbourhood.[3] Pyrrhus inherited all the boldness of his ancestors: in virtue of his marriage with Agathocles's daughter, Lanassa, he had strong claims in both divisions of Magna

[1] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22. et seq.
[2] Diodor. Eclog. xxii.
[3] See above, p. 153.

CHAP. XII.

Græcia: with apparent generosity, and much real ambition, he therefore undertook the defence of the Greeks in Italy against the Romans, and the defence of the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians. Through the invasion of Africa, by his father-in-law Agathocles, my readers were made acquainted with the history, resources, and internal state of Carthage; but the expeditions of Pyrrhus into Italy, exhibiting the first important warfare between the Greeks and Romans, it will be necessary here to examine, with a view to many subsequent parts of this work, the character and genius of a people, who after first measuring their strength with the Epirots, persevered in successive conflicts, with other Greek commonwealths or kingdoms, till in the space of two hundred and forty-four years, they reduced the whole of them into provinces.

Distinctions between the Greek colonies there and those in Latium.

Under the necessity of treating a subject, which, by being familiar to the reader, is thereby rendered more difficult to the writer, I am happy that the information which it was incumbent on me to communicate in a preceding work, will enable me to reduce the present narrative, within a narrow compass. The Romans, were indeed Greeks, only of an earlier age[8]: with their blood and primeval habits, they inherited that combination of craft and courage, which, having carried their arms in victory over twenty

[8] Vid. Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. l. i. p. 10. et seq. edit. Sylburg. Conf. Plutarch in Flamin. p. 375. edit. Xyland.

barbarous nations in Italy, at length exposed them, four hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome, to the envy and hatred of the degenerate and feeble inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The Greeks who colonized the part of Italy, bearing that name, chiefly in the eighth century before Christ, are carefully to be distinguished from those Elians and Arcadians, who, at a far earlier period occupied the district called Latium, towards the middle of the western coast. The settlers in Magna Græcia left their native country, at a time when its arts and institutions had acquired a considerable degree of maturity. They possessed themselves of the projecting head-lands looking towards Greece and Sicily; and maintained a frequent and animated intercourse with their ancestors in the former, and with their brethren in the latter.[4] But the Greek colonists in Latium migrated during a ruder state of the arts, and an earlier period of society. They intermixed with the natives of the conquered territory, whom their humanity or policy had spared. After the taking of Troy, they are said to have been joined by Phrygians, a people naturally hostile to their mother-country; and their settlement on the remote[5] western coast of Italy debarred rude mariners, as they were, from frequent commu-

[4] See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. throughout.

[5] The contrast between the two coasts, furnished Cicero with his beautiful comparison, Mare Ionium, Græcum quoddam et portuosum—Inferum hoc, Tuscum et Barbarum scopulosum et infestum, &c. Cicero de Orator. l. iii. c. 19.

CHAP. XII.

nication with ancient Greece, or with Greek establishments in any part of the world.[6] In this manner, the origin of the Romans came to be a matter of some obscurity, if not in earlier ages, certainly in the later times of the republic: the difficulty must have increased with the burning of Rome by the Gauls, accompanied by the destruction of many ancient documents; and at the æra of her greatness and vanity, one of her brightest ornaments and best citizens frankly acknowledges his desire of concealing her obligations to Greece, for those laws and institutions, which did so much honour to Rome, when considered as the result of domestic wisdom.[7]

Foundation of Rome. Olym. vi. 4. B. C. 753.

Yet the odious secret was betrayed by the evidence of history, of monuments, and of language; by the circumstances accompanying the foundation of Rome itself; and the whole proceedings of that city, whether under kings or consuls. According to the custom of Greeks, in other parts of the world, those of Latium extended themselves by colonization, into many small but independent communities, occupying

[6] In the 220th year of the city, Livy says of Tarquin the Proud, "duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Græciam misit." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 56.

[7] Multa sunt etiam in nostris ducta a Pythagoreis, quæ prætereo; ne ea quæ peperisse ipsi putamur aliunde didicisse videamur. Cicero Tusculan. l. iv. Plutarch in Flamin. speaks of ενανσματα μικρα και γλισχρα κοινηματα παλαιᾶς γενεσς, "the small sparks and faint resemblances which the Romans had retained of their ancient extraction," even on an occasion when he would have been most willing to conceal, if possible, their Grecian descent.

CHAP. XII.

when they first obtained the notice of history, twenty miles inland, and sixty miles along the coast, from the left bank of the Tiber, to the promontory of Circeii. Alba, the mother of Rome, was fifteen miles from the sea, defended on one side by abrupt precipices, and adorned on the other by a large and deep lake, whose waters, being artificially accumulated, served the double[8] purpose of irrigating the contiguous plain, and of resisting the invasion of enemies. The city is said to have subsisted several centuries, as head of the Latin confederacy, and to have founded thirty colonies, when king Numitor sent out a new one under his grandson Romulus. Accompanied by the valour of three hundred companions in arms, and the strength of three thousand hardy peasants, Romulus occupied the district assigned to him, adjacent to the left bank of the Tiber, scarcely seven miles in circumference. Within this narrow territory, he immediately commenced designs calculated to promote his renown in life, and in death to secure those coveted honours to his shade, which, according to the useful superstition of Greece, belonged to the benefactors and improvers, above all to the prosperous founders[9] of cities and commonwealths. Actuated by motives, equally energetic and ardent, he is said, in the space of three years, to have collected sub-

Romulus, his views and institutions.

[8] Dionys. Halicarn. Hist. Roman. l. i. p. 53. Conf. Piranesi Antiquitá d'Albano, p. 6. et seq.

[9] Vid. Diodorus Siculus, l. xx. s. 102. θυσιας και πανηγυρεις, &c. Conf. Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. xxxiii. p. 408.

CHAP. XII.

jects, built a city, instituted a religion, and arrayed an army.[10] But his subjects had partly accompanied him from Alba, and might easily, amidst the wars and distractions of petty states, be augmented by his protecting asylum; his fortress called Rome, from a Greek word denoting strength, already subsisted among the seven hills, and needed only to be repaired and re-occupied[11]; and in respect of religion, polity, and war, his institutions, even, as described by the popular historians of his country, perfectly accord with those which prevailed in the ancient royalties of Greece. There, during those heroic ages, as in Rome afterwards, national assemblies deliberated and resolved, senates approved and confirmed[12], and kings at the head of the community, exercised the prerogatives of convener and president of senates and assemblies, together with the important functions of high-priest, judge, and general.

Respective merits of his six immediate

Under such political arrangements, Romulus infused into the commonwealth his own magnanimity. Numa inspired it with reverence for the

[10] Dionysius and Livy.

[11] Vid. Auctor. apud Cluverium, Ital. Antiq. p. 246. et seq.

[12] This order was afterwards reversed: the senate proposed and the people confirmed. Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 87. When the alteration took place, I do not find; nor have I met with any writer, ancient or modern, who agitates the question. But from Dionysius, incomparably the most informing author, concerning the first ages of Rome, we learn that the Roman people were very anciently divided into φρατραι, or Curiæ, which collected, each of them apart, the votes of their respective members, and that the resolve of the majority of the Curiæ was referred to the Senate. Conf Digest. l. i. tit. i. 2.

maxims of justice, as guarded by the sanctions of religion. Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius respectively fortified the laws of Romulus and of Numa. Tarquinius Priscus, a prince of Corinthian extraction, created that taste for Grecian elegance, and planned those works of solidity and splendour, which already announced the eternal city. Servius Tullius secured regularity and fairness in collecting the public revenue, multiplied and improved the rules of legal polity, and balanced, with a nice hand, the rights of liberty and numbers among a free people, against the prerogatives of birth, wealth, and superior personal attainments. What remained to be done by the cruel and proud Tarquin? To fall, it has been said, an useful victim, and to promote by his disgrace the future glory of his country, since Rome must either have changed its government, or have remained a petty monarchy.[14] This is not, however, one of those reflections that naturally grow out of facts. Towards the end of the second century of the city, Servius Tullius mustered eighty-four thousand seven hundred citizens in arms[15]; after the lapse of two hundred years, this number did not double, amounting to only one hundred and sixty thousand[16]: a circumstance, which shows that the growth of Rome, whether proceeding from do-

CHAP. XII. successors. U. C. 59—220.

[14] Il devoit arriver de deux choses l'une; ou que Rome changeroit son gouvernement, ou qu'elle resteroit une petite et pauvre Monarchie. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence, c. 1.

[15] Dionys. p. 225.

[16] Tabul. Capitolin. et Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 22.

CHAP. XII.

mestic or foreign causes, was more rapid under the kings, than under the consuls.

Change from royalty to republicanism. B. C. 509. U. C. 245. Parallel of Rome and Athens.

The revolution from royalty to republicanism happened at Rome as at Athens, and other cities of Greece, because kings, dissatisfied with legitimate honours, overleaped those barriers, which the religion of the times opposed to their tyranny.[17] In the uniform belief of their subjects, they were the accountable vicegerents of heaven, and the sceptre dropped from their hands, whenever they infringed the sacred obligations, under which they held it. Through the eminent abilities, the obstinate struggle, and the ultimate and complete discomfiture of the Roman, as well as the Athenian tyrants, the martial spirit of both nations was raised to the highest pitch; and in both alike, the enthusiasm for military glory accompanied the enthusiasm for liberty.[18] The object of their fond wishes, both of them acquired beyond all other cities in the world; though their roads to grandeur and renown became widely different, from their total dissimilarity in point of local circumstances and neighbourhood. Athens, surrounded by states brave and politic as herself, made conquests abroad; and in the zenith of her greatness,

[17] Thucydid. in Procem. Aristot. Politic. passim. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix. l. xi. c. 11. totally mistakes the nature of these revolutions.

[18] Δηλοι δε ε κατα εν μονον, αλλα πολλαχη, η ισηγορια ως εστι χρημα σπουδαιον, &c. Herodot. l. v. c. 78. This passage, attesting the military energies inspired by liberty, is the text on which Livy expatiates, in his second book throughout.

asserted dominion over far remote coasts, and a thousand maritime republics. But her diminutive territory, at home, afforded not any firm basis on which empire could rest; whereas the Romans first conquered the nations of Italy around them, and thence from that central peninsula, the solid citadel of their power, extended their triumphs on all sides, until the whole of the Mediterranean sea was inclosed within their iron frontier. Yet, notwithstanding this diversity of fortune, the maxims and revolutions of the two states, exhibit such a striking resemblance as renders the history of the one a perpetual commentary on that of the other.

CHAP. XII.

In comparison with other nations of antiquity, the prominent characteristics of both Greeks and Romans consisted in the law of monogamy[19], and in the zeal for civil liberty. From the former of these sources flowed that early institution, and that propriety of domestic manners, which distinguishes, in modern times, the subjects of Europe from the slaves of Asia. Con-

Their prominent characteristics.

[19] Ενα ανδρα μιας γυναικος τυχειν, vid. Petit. de Leg. Attic. p. 35. From two passages of Livy, the one corrupt, the other rhetorical, Vico Neapolitano, and D'Uni, (Della cittadinanza Romana) and other fanciful writers, have inferred that marriages, establishing certainty with regard to the offspring, the duties of education, &c. could be contracted only by Patricians, so called a patre ciendo, that is, as they explain the words, from being able to name their fathers. But Homer would have taught them that they should have said from being able to boast their father's virtues. The etymology, besides, is denied by Dionysius, l. ii. p. 83. and indeed by Livy himself, "Patres certe, ab honore; Patriciique progenies eorum appellata." Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. Conf. l. x. c. 8.

CHAP. XII.

suls were in Rome, what the archons had been in Greece. The Tribunes in the one country, corresponded to the Ephori in the other. Uncontrouled powers had belonged to the Grecian Æsymnetæ[20], before they were conferred on the Roman Dictators. In the Patricians of Rome, it is easy to recognise the Eupatridæ of Greece[21]; while the Equites of the former country bear a striking analogy to those noble bands of Grecian youth employed by the magistrates in matters requiring celerity[22] and dispatch, and, who serving on horseback in proof of their hereditary opulence, were always ready to defend the state against foreign enemies, and the government against domestic insurgents.[23] To say all in one word, such was the affinity between the two nations, that even the municipal laws of the Greeks were early borrowed by the Romans, and embodied in their jurisprudence.[24]

[20] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 14.

[21] The prerogatives of the Roman Patricians are comprised in the old Athenian law, Ευπατριδας γινωσκειν τα θεια, και παρεχειν αρχοντας, και νομων διδασκαλους ειναι, και δσιων και ἱερων εξηγητας. "It belongs to the Eupatridæ to perform the rites, and interpret the omens, of religion, to teach the laws, and to bear magistracies."

[22] The Equites were originally called Celeres, a word denoting their primary functions, (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiii. c. 2.) and exactly according with their office in Greece. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

[23] Aristot. Politic. l. iv. et passim. Compare the account of Cinadon's conspiracy, History of Ancient Greece, c. xxviii.

[24] Dionysius, l. x. p. 681. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 31. Tacitus, Annal. l. iii. c. 27. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 642. and Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 5. The twelve tables were promulgated, U. C. 302. B. C. 452. Hermodorus of Ephesus assisted in the work. Pompon. de Origin. Juris, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Similarity in their transactions.

With such congeniality of character, their transactions also afford very remarkable parallels. In their respective histories, we find alike haughty[25] proceedings of the Eupatridæ and Patricians, immediately after the abolition of kings, whose sacred office had served in both countries, as a security and pledge, that the people should not be treated with insult, nor the nobles with injustice.[26] Yet, from the destruction of Tarquin, a period of three hundred and sixty-one years passed away before any dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians terminated in blood[27]: and so firmly had the foundations of domestic manners been established under the six preceding kings, that two hundred and sixty years elapsed, before any woman in Rome publicly separated from her husband.[28] In no country of the world were crimes less frequent, or punishments less severe. The dread of admonition from a magistrate long operated as a restraint, equally efficacious and salutary[29]; so acute was the sense of shame, and so awful the respect for government, deemed essential to

[25] Conf. Dionys. l. x. p. 632. et seq. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 13. Dein servili imperio Patres Plebem exercere. Sallust. Fragment.

[26] Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 10.

[27] See in Livy, l. iv. c. 9, 10. the contrast between the impassioned and sanguinary Ardeans, and the disciplined moderation even of the Roman populace.

[28] The first divorce happened U. C. 520. Vid. Sigonii de Antiq. Jur. Civil. Roman. l. i. c. 9. p. 51.

[29] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 9. and Aulus Gellius, l. xv. c. 11. The sole sanction of the Valerian law consisted in the declaration, that he, who violated it, would act amiss. Tit. Liv. ubi supra.

CHAP. XII.

the nature of man, because indispensable to his existence in community. Habituated to such feelings, the Romans were quickened in the pursuit of greatness by the active emulation of two annual consuls, and the ardent competition between two orders in the state, the Patricians striving to maintain the pre-eminence which they enjoyed, the Plebeians struggling to merit the equality to which they aspired: and the same political arrangements, under which a people less disciplined by morals, would have fluctuated between cruel tyranny and bloody sedition, secured, to this illustrious nation, equality of freedom at home, and abroad consolidation of empire.

Wars of the Romans in Italy.

Few readers are altogether unprepared on the subject of Roman warfare in Italy: fewer still entertain clear or correct notions concerning it. For this purpose it would be necessary to cast an eye on the nations by whom Rome was surrounded; and to examine her transactions with these nations separately and successively, so that preceding events may throw light on those that follow them. In prosecuting this new mode of Roman history, it will be proper, also, to advert to the results of military success in the increase and embellishment of the city, and in the extension, improvement, and security of the territory: from the distinct consideration of which capital objects, we shall be enabled to estimate the progress of the Romans, in arts as well as arms, when, at the close

of Alexander's reign, they first came into contact with the inhabitants of Magna Græcia.

CHAP. XII.

Besides their brethren in Latium, and the Tuscans who held the opposite bank of the Tiber, the Æqui lived more inland towards the north of Rome, and the Volsci on the south, inhabiting respectively the rough and intricate valleys around the Anio, and the Liris. Beyond the Æqui on one side, and beyond the Volsci on the other, the Sabines and Samnites enjoyed more extensive domains. The Samnites, who became the more powerful of the two, were colonies of Sabines; both nations descended from the Osci, and spoke the ancient Oscan tongue[30]; and both were the founders of various smaller communities, which divided by mountains or rivers, and defended by rude walls, occupied and deformed many inland districts, while the neighbouring coasts were cultivated and embellished by Tuscans and Greeks. Of the two seas encompassing Italy, the western received the name of Tuscan, and the eastern is said to have been called the Adriatic from Adria, a Tuscan colony.[31] The Tuscans, indeed, very anciently cultivated the extensive plains between the Alps and Apennines, the Po and the Rubicon. Their first settlements, however, should seem to have been formed on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the country still bearing the name of Tuscany.[32] In

Nations around them in that country.

Tuscans—their limits defined.

[30] Strabo, l. v. p. 233. [31] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 33.

[32] Livy says of them "in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare;

CHAP. XII.

this district between the Tuscan sea and the Apennine, they built twelve cities, which in process of time planted the eastern side of the mountain, with as many colonies, extending to the Hadriatic, and finally occupying the whole of the adjacent coast, except the little corner manfully defended by the Veneti; a name, which local situation perpetuated to modern times in the long illustrious Venetians. Not contented with such ample possessions in the north, the Tuscans in their prosperous days usurped the Campania, that valuable southern plain immediately contiguous to the Latin shore, comparatively small in extent, but peculiarly alluring in point of climate, fertility and beauty.[33] In this delightful district, the Tuscans likewise established twelve colonies, of which the principal was Vulturnus, afterwards called Capua.[34] But notwithstanding the amplitude of their territories, their military power had ceased to be formidable even in the first ages of Rome. At the time when Romulus occupied that strong-hold, arts, rather

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postea trans Apenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant, coloniis missis; quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, usque ad mare tenuere." l. v. c. 33. The first settlements of the Tuscans thus lay between the Mare Inferum and the Apennine: they afterwards crossed the mountain, and planted colonies around the Po. But Cluverius says, on the contrary, "Hi igitur antiquæ illius Hetruriæ Circumpadanæ fuere fines; ex quibus postea in novam inter Apenninum et Mare inferum Hetruriam totidem colonias deduxerunt." Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 434.

[33] Polybius, l. ii. c. 17.

[34] Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

than arms, formed the main pursuit of the Tuscans. They were a commercial and ingenious people, resembling the Greeks in their taste for music and dancing, for painting and sculpture: while their pompous magnificence, voluptuous luxury, and worse than Asiatic effeminacy [35], well accord with the characteristics of the Lydians, their reputed ancestors. [36] Their confederacy had become extremely inadequate, even for the purpose of defence; and their thirty-six cities, governed by as many kings called Lucomons [37], should seem to have been anxious, each for its particular safety, taking a very faint concern in the affairs of its neighbours.

Rape of the Sabines—how justified.

Under such circumstances of ancient Italy, a country exhibiting strength void of art in some parts, and opulence without union in others, Romulus was first engaged in war through the expedient by which his subjects had been collected, and among whom, the number of males greatly predominated over that of females. This gave occasion to the well-known exploit, called the rape of the Sabines, though Latin and Tuscan women, still nearer neighbours to Rome, had flocked to see the games of Neptune, and thereby exposed themselves to the rudeness of compulsory wedlock: for Romulus administered to the Romans, and the damsels whom they respectively seized, the elements of fire, bread or rather grain, and water; emblems

[35] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 517.
[36] Justin. l. xx. c. 1.
[37] Lucomones reges sunt Tusca lingua, Servius ad Eneid. l. ii.

CHAP. XII.

employed in those days to denote the indissoluble communion of married life.[38] To the relatives of the detained women, enraged at violated hospitality, he alleged the plea of political necessity, and the primeval institutions of Greece, according to which it was deemed more decorous[39] in females to submit to manly force, than to pronounce a blushing consent. In contempt of such justifications, the neighbours of Rome took arms. The Romans checked their irruption; drove them into disorderly flight; and Romulus, with his own hand, slew their leader, king of Cænina, a city, it is uncertain, whether of the Latins or Sabines. Upon this, and a second victory over the Latin city Antemna, Romulus led back his army exulting in success, and singing rude extemporary verses, to the praise of his skill and valour. He then entered the city clothed in purple, and crowned with laurel, preceded by priests, and followed by soldiers. Public gratulations hailed this victorious procession. Sacrifices to the gods were accompanied with joyous entertainments; and during this mixed solemnity, destined, in process of time, to swell into the gorgeous pomp of Roman triumphs, Romulus conveyed to the Capitoline hill the spoils of the king of Cænina, his prostrate rival, and consecrated them to Jupiter under his title of spoil-bearer; to whom he afterwards raised a temple,

The triumphs.

[38] Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 95.

[39] Ταις γυναιξι επιφανεστερον. Id. ibid.

whose vestiges could be discerned with reverence even in the age of Augustus.[40] This temple, the first germ of the renowned capitol, was destined for the reception of the spolia opima, the spoils stripped by Roman commanders from the bodies of adverse generals; an honour not lessened to Romulus by frequent participation, since the spolia opima were only twice consecrated, from the death of that prince to the dissolution of the commonwealth[41], after numerous battles, and almost as many victories.

Condition of the central states of Italy during the 43 years of Numa's reign. U. C. 39—82.

Under her first king, Rome conquered several cities of the Latins and Tuscans, and incorporated within her own walls a considerable portion of the Sabines.[42] Numa, the second king, reprobated the encroachments of ambition. He erected a temple to Good Faith; and his example concurred with his precepts towards impressing the salutary conviction that justice is essential to piety. His mild yet firm sway anticipated the wish of the virtuous Plato; and while populous and powerful nations were a prey to despotism or anarchy, a small community on the banks of the Tiber flourished under the paternal care of a philosopher on the throne. The influence of Numa's virtues extended to

[40] Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 102.

[41] Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 10. The second spolia opima were gained by Cornelius Cossus over Tolumnius king of the Veientes. Id. l. iv. c. 19.; the third, by Claudius Marcellus over Britomarus king of the Gauls. Plut. in Marcello.

[42] Dionysius, l. ii. & Tit. Liv. l. i.

CHAP. XII.

neighbouring states. Those who had been rivals and enemies celebrated his well-earned praise; and the spirit of just government, diffusing itself like a mild zephyr from Latium, softened into amity the surrounding commonwealths. To propitiate the gods rather by sanctity of manners[43] than by rich offerings, to till or plant the ground, and to rear lawful children, occupied the central states of Italy for the space of forty-three years; during which period it was never once necessary to open the temple of Janus. To this mysterious personage, whose reformation of mankind from savageness into civility was typified in his double countenance[44], a temple had been dedicated by Romulus. Numa completed this temple, and adopted it as a fit emblem of war and peace; of war when open, of peace when shut: under which latter circumstance, the territory of Rome was cultivated with an emulation of industry. Each citizen could call a little lot[45] of land his own. Husbandmen thenceforth continued the main division of Romans.[46] Other branches of labour

[43] Dionysius, l. ii. p. 123. & Plutarch in Numa. Numa rejected all traditions and all ceremonies derogatory to the gods, and thereby, detrimental to man. He thus refined the mythology of Homer, as was afterwards done by the Pythagoreans. See History of Ancient Greece, c. xi. From this coincidence in theological reformation arose the anachronism stigmatised by Livy, l. i. c. 18. of making Numa a scholar of Pythagoras, who lived 100 years after him.

[44] Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 7.

[45] Two Roman jugera, equal to acres 1,236: that is, to five-fourths of an English acre.

[46] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 34.

were encouraged in proportion to the profit, or even pleasure, which they afforded. The smith, carpenter, weaver, and tanner administered to coarser wants; and already, in the reign of Numa, the more refined trades of the dyer, the goldsmith, and the maker of musical instruments were erected into separate corporations, enjoying appropriate halls, emblems, and festivals.[47]

Wars under the three succeeding kings. U. C. 82—170.

In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, successor to Numa, the pretensions of Alba, long the chief city of the Latins, were overthrown by the issue of the well-known combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; a transaction in several of its circumstances strongly marking the distinction between heroic and barbarous manners.[48] But notwithstanding the demolition of Alba, and the conversion of its inhabitants into Romans, wars were often renewed with the Latins, as well as with the Sabines and Tuscans, in consequence of the law of nations then prevalent in Italy. By a useful fiction of modern lawyers, kings, in their official capacity, are immortal; and the rights and obligations of each prince

[47] Plutarch in Numa.

[48] Manners are barbarous when crimes are committed wantonly, witnessed unfeelingly, and either horridly avenged, or allowed to pass unchallenged. The reverse of all this appears in Dionysius, l. iii. p. 151. See the affecting prelude to the combat; the agitations and tears of the kinsmen; the resistless transports of the love-sick Horatia bursting the restraints of her well-disciplined modesty: the stern patriotism of her brother; his ανθαδεια, or confidence in his own dire feelings, of which the propriety, on such an occasion, was recognized by the father of Horatia himself, and by the king who expiated the murder.

CHAP. XII.

are thus transmitted entire to his successors. But the neighbours of ancient Rome, not acknowledging this maxim [49], rejected the supremacy, first of Ancus Martius, and afterwards of Tarquinius Priscus. The former of these princes, grandson to Numa, and heir to his virtues, armed for a just defence, and terminated a long and complicated war by results beneficial to his country. The Veientes ceded to Rome the property of the Mesian forest; the remotest communities of Sabines acknowledged the superiority of Roman valour; Ancus extended his frontier to the sea; and near the mouth of the Tiber, constructed the safe harbour of Ostia. To secure the navigation [50] of that river, he fortified the Janiculum, an eminence on its western bank; and this eighth, as it may be deemed, and loftiest [51] of the Roman hills, was joined to mount Palatine by a wooden bridge. To the new citizens, chiefly Latins, whom his victories brought to Rome, Ancus assigned dwellings on mount Aventine. Mount Cælius was inhabited by Albans: the Palatine and Capitoline hills had been already occupied respectively by Romans and Sabines. [52] Upon the death of Ancus Martius, his successor, Tarquinius Priscus, was involved in a new war. The incursions of his enemies were repressed, their armies driven

[49] Dionysius, l. iii. p. 186. [50] Ibid. p. 183.

[51] The Janiculum rises 260 feet above the level of the Tiber; that is, 100 feet higher than any of the seven hills on the opposite bank.

[52] Dionys. ibid.

from the field, many of their cities taken, and chastised with different measures of severity according to the obstinacy of their resistance. The Latins, having wholly submitted, became auxiliaries to Tarquin in reducing the rebellious communities of Tuscans; namely, those first established in Italy on the western side of the Apennine: and both Latins and Tuscans followed the standard of Rome in her renewed hostilities with the Sabines, and in the course of five years compelled that warlike people to accept the same conditions of peace, by which themselves were bound.[53]

Ensigns of honour received from the Tuscans by Tarquinius Priscus.

Such a tide of prosperity was celebrated by triumphs at Rome, and commemorated by public monuments. As emblems of his supremacy, Tarquin received from the Tuscans a golden crown, a sceptre of ivory, bearing an eagle on its summit, and a throne of the same rare material. The ostentatious Tuscans, pompous even in their flattery, presented him also with a purple tunic embroidered with gold, and a robe of royalty rivalling the *Candys* worn by the great kings of the East, together with twelve fasces, representing the allegiance of their twelve subject communities.[54] The senate and people of Rome allowed Tarquin to assume these badges of grandeur, which were retained by succeeding kings, and even by the Roman consuls, who rejected only the golden crown

[53] Dionys. l. iii. p. 184. et seq.

[54] Dionys. ibid.

CHAP. XII.

and variegated robe of royalty, as ornaments too proud and invidious.[55]

Rome improved in strength, beauty, and salubrity.

A man of Corinthian extraction, brought up amidst the arts of Tuscany, and carefully instructed by his father in those of Greece, might be expected to employ the wealth acquired by conquest in works of useful magnificence. Wonderful were the exertions of Tarquin for improving the strength, the beauty, and the salubrity of Rome. The four hills rudely inclosed by preceding kings (for the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline were added by his successor Servius Tullius), he surrounded with a regular and complete wall, composed, it is said, of stones, forming, many of them, a cart's load. He constructed the Cloaca maxima, destined to carry in a broad subterranean stream the filth of the city into the Tiber.[56] He adorned the Forum with elegant porticoes; and, aspiring in all things to rival the magnificence of Greece, erected on a plain between the Palatine and Aventine hills, a regular and spacious hippodrome, which, under the name of Circus, far surpassed its model the hippodrome of Olympia. Tarquin approached his eightieth year, and commenced in this advanced life the noblest of all his works. During his obstinate war with the

[55] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 8. & l. ii. c. 1. & Dionys. ubi supra.

[56] Strabo, l. v. p. 235. & Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. The Cloaca was repaired under the republic at the expence of 1600 talents. Dionys. l. iii. p. 200. It was again repaired by Agrippa under Augustus. Ovid. Fast. l. iv. v. 401. & Strabo, ubi supra. It is now choaked up and neglected, and its mouth only to be seen when the Tiber is low.

CHAP. XII.

Sabines, he had vowed temples on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; but as Terminus, and Juventas, the god of boundaries and the goddess of youth, who had already in that place chapels erected to them, refused to resign their seats[57] even to Jupiter himself, he inclosed the mansions of these inflexible divinities within the precincts of his new edifice, of which he traced the plan, and laboriously formed the vast subterranean base. His grandson, Tarquin the Proud, carried on the design, which was completed in the third Consulate. The capitol of Rome stood, like that of Corinth, on an eminence, though far less commanding[58]; and contained within its walls three parallel temples, that of Jupiter occupying the middle, or most honourable place. This enormous pile of building, which extended 1840 Roman feet in circuit, was burnt amidst the civil wars of Marius and Sylla. Enriched with the spoils of Asia, Rome rebuilt the capitol, and adorned it with a profusion of costly ornaments, but neither altered

[57] The obstinacy of Terminus was construed by the augurs into an omen, "that the boundaries of the commonwealth should never recede;" and that of Juventas, that Rome should ever flourish in youthful vigour. Livy, l. i. c. 55. refers this transaction to the reign of Tarquin the Proud. Dionysius, l. iv. p. 257. is far more worthy of being followed.

[58] The Capitoline hill rose 118 feet above the level of the Tiber: the Palatine, 133; the Cælian, 125; the Esquiline, 164: the Aventine, 117; the union of the Quirinal and Viminal in Diocletian's baths, 141: the top of mount Janiculum, near the Villa Spada, 260. See Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlvii. part ii. for year 1777. But the hills of Rome have been depressed, and its valleys elevated through farther dilapidations of the city.

CHAP. XII.

its primary form, nor increased its original dimensions. [59]

Servius Tullius. — His council of the Latins resembling that of the Amphictyons. U. C. 177—219.

Tarquinius Priscus, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded by his son-in-law Servius Tullius, who, from the cause above explained, which armed the neighbours of Rome on the accession of every new king, had to begin his administration with hostilities against the Tuscans and Latins. The former people, being stripped of part of their lands, renewed their submissions; and the latter, after repeated defeats in war, were more completely subdued by policy. In emulation of the Amphictyons in Greece [60], Servius required the Latins to build a temple at Rome on mount Aventine, and to send thither annual deputies from their several cities, for the purpose of commemorating their common origin; of worshipping their common gods; of adjusting mutual interests; and of concerting national enterprises. By thus assembling at Rome, the Latins all acknowledged that city for the centre of their union and their capital; and the name of Latin, as Servius had foreseen, came gradually to be lost in the higher appellation of Roman.

His new laws.

By fifty new laws, this wise prince restrained the commission of wrongs, and enforced the obligation of contracts. He extended the rights of citizenship to emancipated slaves, repelling

[59] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 24. Conf. Tacit. Histor. l. iv. c. 53. Even under the emperors, all admired, vastum aggeris spatium et substructiones insanas Capitolii. Plin. ibid.

[60] Dionys. l. iv. p. 213.

the objections of pride and cruelty; and to actual slaves he communicated the privileges of religion, built for their use wooden oratories on the cross-ways, and allowed them to celebrate in common the festival of the Compitalia.[61] To accommodate the new citizens, whom his mild policy had created, he joined the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline to the mounts already enclosed, and thus completed the city of the seven hills. Rome, as thus enlarged, is likened to Athens in extent. The comparison is not exact, for Athens measured eighteen miles in circuit; and the walls of Rome only fourteen miles, even when the Campus Martius had been taken in by Aurelian.[62] But long before the age of that

CHAP. XII.

[61] Dionys. p. 213. et seq.

[62] According to Nolli's accurate map, the walls of Rome, including the Campus Martius inclosed by Aurelian, and the Mons Vaticanus, called Cittá Leonina, because taken in by Pope Leo IV. extend in their whole circuit only 15¼ miles, 45 cannes, and 5 palms, Roman measure. The modern walls, however, are more extensive than the ancient, which, in the reign of Titus, measured 12 miles, 800 paces. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. But we shall see hereafter, that the environs of Rome came to be crowded by buildings, especially along the high-ways, comprehended under the same general name, "Urbis appellatio muris, Romæ autem continentibus ædificiis finitur, quod latius patet."

And Claudian —

Inde salutato libatis Tybride lymphis
Excipiunt areas, operosaque semita vastis
Molibus, et quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi —

verses extending the approaches of Rome to the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber. The indefinite signification of the word has passed with similar effect to modern times, of which I met with an example nearly half a century ago. At the distance of two stages from the Porta del Populo, a Roman being taxed with cheating, replied, "alle porte di Roma non s' ingauna nissuno," a moral exaggeration as great as the geographical. Horace, during the

CHAP. XII.

emperor, spacious suburbs had gradually arisen on all sides, exhibiting from their near contiguity to Rome, and each other, the appearance of one continuous and endless city.[63]

In consequence of the enlargement of Rome, Servius deemed it the more necessary to keep an exact account of its resources. For this purpose, he availed himself of the divisions, already made, of the city into wards, and of the country into districts. The wards, he raised from the number of three to that of four, inhabited by four city tribes: the rustic tribes were distributed into fifteen districts, each of which was provided with a place of safety in case of invasion, commonly a natural eminence fortified by art, and denoted by the Greek word Pagus, expressive of its form and use. Over each Pagus an officer was chosen to preside, whose peculiar business was to collect contributions, and to superintend in the celebration of the Paganalia; religious festivals which were made to answer an important political purpose; for the inhabitants of each district were commanded to dedicate, at their respective Paganalia, copper coins of different denominations, according to their own differences of age or sex.

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meridian greatness of Rome, fixes the Quirinal and the Aventine for its northern and southern boundaries:

Cubat hic in colle Quirino,
Hic extremo in Aventino;

the interval between which boundaries measures three English miles.

[63] Dionysius, p. 213. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

These religious offerings at once showed to the magistrate the populousness of his canton or district, the proportion of males to females, and that of fighting men to males above or below the fit military age. The regulations of Servius did not stop here. At the death of every inhabitant belonging to the city or country, a piece of money was appropriated in the temple of Venus Libitina: and for every child that was born, a piece, differently stamped, was to be deposited in the temple of Juno Lucina: directions that produced an accurate register of births and burials. The last and most important ordinance of Servius, was that of the Census and Comitia Centuriata; an institution essential to the stability of the commonwealth, and with the disuse of which, as we shall see hereafter, those evils began, which rendered the most high-minded people in history a prey to military despotism.

The Census.

Servius is said to have observed[64], that in the best ordered republics of Greece, the proportion of public contributions was adjusted with all possible exactness to the extent of private property. To introduce the same equitable regulation at Rome, a law was enacted commanding fathers of families to deliver upon oath a full and faithful account of their whole household and fortunes. According to their various gradations in point of wealth, Servius distributed them into six classes: the first class consisted of persons

[64] I follow Dionysius, l. iv. p. 215. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

worth 100,000 asses[65], equivalent to 100 pounds weight of silver: the second class, of those worth two-thirds of that amount; the third, of persons estimated at 50,000 asses: one-half of that valuation marked the fourth class: the fifth class required only 11,000 asses, equivalent to 35 pounds sterling[66]: citizens not possessed of property to this amount, composed the sixth class, and were exempted on account of poverty from all pecuniary contributions. But this indulgence was attended with nearly a proportionate degradation as to the exercise of political rights: for the six classes were collectively divided into 193 centuries, comprehending the whole body of Roman citizens: each citizen voted only in his century; and each century had an equal weight in the enactment of laws and the appointment of magistrates. But of the 193 centuries into which the people were divided, not less than 98 were formed out of the first class; so that when these 98 centuries were unanimous, they enjoyed a decided preponderancy in all public concerns. The three succeeding classes were

[65] An as was a Roman pound of copper, nearly 12 ounces avoirdupois. Old square pieces of copper, with the figure of a sheep, are met with in various collections, agreeing with what Varro says, Servius Æs pecore notavit. Varro de Re Rustic. l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[66] In those days, and long afterwards, a bushel of barley sold in Italy for two-pence; a bushel of wheat cost four-pence: a firkin of wine was exchanged for a bushel of wheat; and a man defrayed his expences, dinner or supper, at an inn on the road, for one farthing. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. & l. vi. c. 29. This cheapness of living arose from the plenty of necessaries which had continued from the industrious agricultural age of Numa.

mustered, each into 21 centuries; whose equipments for war varied in completeness proportionally to their respective fortunes, all of them being less perfect than the Grecian bucklers, breast-plates, greaves, and helmets distinguishing the centuries composed from the most honourable division of soldiers as well as citizens. The fifth class was divided into 35 centuries of velites, or light-armed troops; and the sixth class was thrown into one century, not so much for military purposes, as to prevent the exclusion of any individual at Rome, however unfortunate his circumstances, from all share in public deliberations and popular elections. To estimate the fluctuations of property produced among individuals by time and chance, a new valuation of estates, or new census, was to be taken at the end of every fifth year, accompanied by a periodical muster of persons.[67] On this solemn occasion, the centuries of horse and foot, the heavy-armed and velites, were drawn up in battle-array in the plain extending between the Tiber on one side, and the Capitoline and Quirinal hills on the other. This plain was called the Campus Martius, being peculiarly consecrated to the god of war, on whose altar the suovetaurilia, that is, a bull, a boar, and a ram, were at every quinquennial muster offered as an expiatory sacrifice or *lustrum*; for this is the Greek term denoting such a solemnity; and we have seen in a former part of this work, that

[67] Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

CHAP. XII.

similar lustrations[68] of armed men, prevailed from the earliest times in Macedon, the greatest and most renowned of all Greek kingdoms: at the only muster recorded under Servius Tullius, the Romans in arms amounted to 84,700[69]: a military force, which, in the space of 260 years from the death of their last king, (for Tarquin the Proud was a tyrant,) gave to this warlike people a firm dominion over Italy, and eventually enabled them to push their conquests on all sides around it, with an uniformity and stability of success, unparalleled in history.

War with the Tarquins. U. C. 245—259.

Had Rome, at the conclusion of Servius's reign, passed from a monarchy to a republic, it would have undergone little other change than that of substituting in the stead of kings two annual consuls. But Tarquin the Proud spurned hereditary and legal forms, governed by domestic councils, oppressed his people, and assassinated his nobles. The public indignation, which had been a long twenty years in collecting, exploded in the well-known events which followed the tragic death of Lucretia. In establishing, or rather in restoring the republic, the chief merit belonged to Brutus and Collatinus, both of them of Corinthian extraction, since the former descended from the sister of Tarquinius Priscus, and the latter from Aruns, elder brother to that accomplished prince. At their instigation, the Romans banished Tarquin the Proud with his three sons. They were followed

[68] See above, vol i. p. 510.

[69] Dionysius, l. iv. p. 225.

CHAP. XII.

into exile by the obnoxious instruments of their tyranny; and abetted, during the space of fourteen years, by the resentment or envy of both Latins and Tuscans. But this long war, levied for the reinstatement of tyrants, redounded wholly to the glory of Rome and of liberty; names ever to be associated with those of Brutus and Valerius; of Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola; of the virgin Cloelia; and of the dictator Posthumius, who terminated the fierce struggle by his victory near the lake Regillus[70] at the foot of the Tusculan hills. Two sons of Tarquin fell in the field: the third had previously perished in an attempt to recover Gabii: the wretched father died next year at Cumæ, a Greek colony in Campania, in which he had found refuge, after the wreck of his fortunes, with Aristodemus, master of that place, and like himself the usurper of sovereignty in a free city.

Division of Italian wars under the consuls.

Before the consular government was established, Rome had gained an ascendancy over the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. From this time forward, until, on the lapse of two centuries, her affairs come to be embodied in the present history, she carried on, I. Perpetual hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci, envious and angry neighbours, inhabiting respectively the mountainous tracks around the Anio and the Liris. II. She had occasional conflicts with the

[70] Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 19. For the events alluded to in the text, see his second book throughout.

CHAP. XII.

nations previously conquered, whom she therefore regarded as rebels, especially with the Tuscans, who, though cowardly as a confederacy, showed spirit and perseverance in defending particular cities. III. She had to oppose the bloody and desolating irruptions of the Gauls, until she had humbled the spirit of those haughty Barbarians. IV. She engaged in the long and obstinate conflict with the Samnites, which finally brought her into warfare with the cities of Magna Græcia. Under these four heads, all the Italian wars of Rome naturally arrange themselves, since her more obscure enemies were dependencies or colonies of the nations just mentioned, and never had recourse to arms but in the character of auxiliaries.

Those of two centuries with the Æqui and Volsci.

The Æqui, even in the reign of Ancus Martius, are characterised as a people of high antiquity; and both they, and the Volsci, men of congenial characters, I should regard as the bravest portion of the Siculi, who maintained their hereditary possessions on the continent, when their brethren, as we are informed by the most accurate of historians, sought refuge in the neighbouring island, to which they communicated the name of Sicily.[71] Proud of immemorial possession, these fierce clans hated their neighbours in Latium as intruders, lived by prey and plunder, and, from their numerous strongholds among the mountains, were always ready to deform the rich adjacent plains. Their sud-

[71] Thucydides, l. vi. p. 412. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

den incursions were followed by rapid retreats, that they might avoid pitched battles with the Romans, over whom they boasted their superiority in desultory encounters, as well as in single combats. From the time that Tarquin the Proud first[72] levied war on the Volsci to their total disappearance in history, that is, for the period of one hundred and ninety-four years, their incursions are described as returning almost regularly with the return of autumn.[73] Their arms were frequently joined by the Æqui, who, resisting twenty-six years longer, finally submitted in the 450th year of the city, and were only subdued by being nearly exterminated, since, in the preceding year, the consul Sempronius stormed and burned forty-one of their strong-holds or cities.[74] In the course of this unceasing warfare of two centuries, the Romans often brought their enemies to battle, and defeated them commonly with the loss of two or three thousand slain. They also made themselves masters of several of their townships; and it appears extraordinary, that, reduced in their numbers and curtailed of their territory, the Æqui and Volsci should so long have found new resources, and retained undaunted resolution. In his perpetual narrative of their resistance or aggression, Livy seems apprehensive, not only

Causes which enabled

[72] Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 53.

[73] Ab Æquis et Volscis statum jam et prope solenne bellum in singulos annos timebatur. Tit. Liv. l. iii. c. 15.

[74] Sigonius's emendation reconciles Diodorus, l. xx. s. 102. with Livy, l. ix. c. 45. Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. p. 776. quotes the latter incorrectly.

CHAP. XII.

these nations to make such an obstinate resistance.

of tiring the patience, but of staggering the belief, of his readers. "How is it possible that those miserable districts, which are now rescued from solitude only by Roman slaves, should have supplied such continual successions of brave military recruits?" He answers by saying, "that each levy must have been confined to persons of a particular age, one race being allowed to spring up before another was entirely cut off; or that the unceasing hostilities of the nations were not carried on by precisely the same cities; or in fine, that the mountains of the Æqui and Volsci must have teemed beyond all example with inhabitants."[75] To the causes assigned by Livy, four others, I think, may be added. Without supposing any unaccountable degree of populousness, it may safely be allowed that the proportion of soldiers to the whole inhabitants was far greater in Italy in those primitive times, than in the luxurious age of Livy and Augustus. In the first centuries of Rome, arms and agriculture formed the great pursuit of that republic herself; and were the sole occupations followed by her ruder neighbours, who needed few accommodations, who coveted no luxuries, and whose ruling passion was the love of independence. Secondly, by the unskilful engineers of those times, whose attainments by no means kept pace with other branches of the military art, many cities of the Æqui and Volsci were regarded as impregnable fortresses. Though

[75] Liv. l. vi. c. 12.

driven from the field, those alert and cautious adversaries generally secured their retreat; and oftentimes, after wasting the harvests of Rome, allowed their own to be burned or destroyed without quitting the protection of their walls.[76] Thirdly, the Æqui and Volsci did not fight unaided. Not to mention the contemporary wars, that will be examined presently, these incessant and irreclaimable enemies drew to their standard numerous volunteers from various parts of Italy; enterprising youths, eager to exercise their impatient valour, and more concealed levies from jealous communities anxious to undermine the power of Rome, which they had not courage openly to assail. Not only more distant states, but the Hernici[77], a Sabine nation, and even the Latins themselves, were frequently convicted of this clandestine hostility. Fourthly, the colonies which the Romans established as out-posts in the territories of their enemies, were, in the course of time, tempted, in some instances, to prefer the connection by neighbourhood to that by blood[78], and thus to abet the party, which they had been sent out to controul. In addition to these circumstances, serving to account for the endless wars of the Æqui and Volsci, it may

[76] In oppida sua se recipere, uri sua popularique passi. Liv. l. iii. c. 5. Similar expressions frequently occur.

[77] The Hernici apologised, "quod suæ juventutis aliqui apud Volscos militarent: nec culpam in eo publicam, nec consilium." But the Romans were not the dupes of this artifice. Vid. Tit. Liv. l. vi. c. 10.

[78] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 12. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

be observed, that mountainous districts, though not essentially more populous than others, are found by experience better to maintain the populousness which at any given time they have acquired: they are not store-houses or arsenals of fighting men, but rather their breeding places and founderies: and whatever numbers you drain off, the populousness again rises to its former level.

Siege of Veii. U.C. 351—361.

In the midst of their long warfare with the Æqui and Volsci, the Romans were engaged in comparatively short but sharp conflicts with the Veientes, their near neighbours in Tuscany, and with the Galli Senones, the most southern clan of the Gauls, who, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, had been pouring their rapacious hordes into Italy. The former of these enemies the Romans totally extirpated; and by the latter, only six years afterwards, were themselves brought to the brink of ruin. The Veientes had submitted, with other Tuscan cities around them, to the arms of the Roman kings; and after espousing the cause of Tarquin the tyrant, had reluctantly acknowledged the new republic for their master. But in the language of the Roman senate, they rebelled seven times; and in one of their earliest rebellions, a battle on the banks of the Cremera, which flowed through their territory into the Tiber, had nearly extinguished the most flourishing family of the republic, 306 Fabii, the whole individuals of that

name of an age to bear arms.[79] Exasperated by this defeat, and stung with many insults which followed it, the Romans vowed revenge on the hostile towers of Veii frowning from abrupt hills, only eighteen miles distant. The strength of Veii defied assault; the place must be taken by blockade, for which purpose it would be necessary to keep the field many months, perhaps years. The senate therefore decreed, that soldiers, who had hitherto served at their private expence, should receive pay from the public[80]; and that each citizen should contribute towards this expence in proportion to his property or census. The Patricians, and more wealthy among the Plebeians, vied with each other in pouring their money into the treasury. Veii was invested in form: a ditch and rampart, thrown round the place; and, at a due distance, a line of circumvallation drawn to intercept succours to the besieged. The vigour of attack was met with equal vigour of resistance. The Romans kept the field in winter as well as sum-

CHAP. XII.

[79] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. ii. c. 45. et seq. and Dionysius, Hist. Roman. l. ix. c. 587.

[80] The pay of one horseman was equivalent to that of three foot-soldiers; but we are not informed of the exact amount of either. Two centuries afterwards, in the age of Polybius, the Roman infantry received the value of two-pence daily; centurions four-pence, and horsemen sixpence. This daily pay sufficed to provide the soldier with eight meals, or to supply him four days with bread. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 15. and l. vi. c. 39. In Cicero's time, 100 years after Polybius, the bushel of wheat cost 12 sestertii: that is, it had risen four times in value. In speaking of early times, Pliny, l. xviii. c. 4. says, Ergo iis moribus non modo sufficiebant fruges, verum etiam annonæ vilitas incredibilis.

CHAP. XII.

mer; having in this warfare first erected tents, covered with skins. Yet Veii was not taken until the tenth year, when Camillus, by means of a mine[81], opened a passage to the citadel, at the same time that a general assault was made on the walls. The city became a spoil to the conquerors: and nothing was brought into the public treasury, but the price of the captive Veientes, who next day were sold to merchants accompanying the Roman army.

Donation to Delphi.

During the obstinate resistance of this ill-fated people who had repeatedly burnt or destroyed the *vineæ*, or Roman engines, the oracle of Delphi had been consulted by the Romans and had exhorted them to perseverance in the siege. To repay this encouraging response, Camillus dedicated the tenth part of his spoil to the god. A golden vase was cast, and shipped for Delphi. But the vessel, conveying this donation, being captured near the straits of Messina by pirates belonging to the Liparean isles, Timasitheus, the archon, or first magistrate, of Lipara, procured her restitution, and himself conducted the Romans to Delphi. The senate declared Timasitheus a benefactor to the republic; rewarded him with fit presents; and, an hundred and forty years afterwards, when Lipara was

[81] Livy, l. v. c. 19. says of this mine, Operum fuit omnium longe maximum et laboriosissimum. Zanchi examined its remains, and has ventured to give a plate of it in his Veio Illustrato. This circumstance, with many others, confirms the notices in Eutropius and in Peutinger's Tables, concerning the long disputed situation of Veii. That city was distant 18 miles from Rome, and 9 from the Tiber. Its ruins were found by Zanchi in the wood of Montelupuli.

taken in the midst of the first Punic war, they gratefully remembered his merit, and exempted his descendants from every public burthen.[82] CHAP. XII.

Digression on the legionary order of battle.

The siege of Veii, which first introduced pay into the Roman armies, would appear to have been the æra[83] of a far more important change: namely the introduction of their chequer order of battle. Before this time they were armed, like the Greeks, with long spears. From this weapon, the first rank retained the name of Hastati[84]: this rank consisted, as in Greece, of young men: the second, called Principes, consisted of soldiers in the vigour of life: the third rank, or Triarii, were tried veterans[85]; and to this system of arrangement, according to different ages, the Romans, as well as Greeks, continued unalterably to adhere.[86] But in their chequer order of battle, as commonly understood, the Romans differed from the Greeks and all other nations. Their legion contained ten cohorts; the cohort, three maniples; the maniples, two centuries, and the legion, thus containing sixty centuries, would have amounted to six thousand soldiers, had the word century been used in its proper sense. But the Comitia

[82] Conf. Tit. l. v. c. 25. et seq. & Plutarch in Camill.

[83] I infer this from what Livy says, Clypeis antea Romani usi sunt, deinde postea stipendiarii facti, scuta pro clypeis fecere. Liv. l. viii. c. 8. We shall see presently the connection between the *scutum* and the chequer order of battle.

[84] Varro de Ling. Latin, l. iv. c. 16

[85] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

[86] History of Ancient Greece, c. ix.

CHAP. XII.

centuriata, as regulated by Servus Tullius, accustomed the Romans to the technical meaning of the term, so that in the 407th year of the city, the legion of sixty centuries consisted only of four thousand two hundred men; which continued to be its ordinary force two hundred years afterwards in the age of Polybius. According to received accounts, the thirty maniples into which each legion was divided, were thrown into the form of a quincunx; each maniple being a square mass, ten in rank and as many in file, and the whole maniples in the centre line standing directly opposite to the intervals in the front and rear. Upon this supposition, the Roman order of battle consisted of a number of square masses, separated by intervals equal or nearly equal to the fronts of the maniples.[87] These wide intervals, however, must have rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the Romans to advance regularly to the charge, or to have maintained due order in time of action. The same chequer order of maniples would also have exposed them in every battle to be attacked in both flanks, and in rear; and if the second line had been posted, as is commonly imagined, fifty feet behind the Hastati, even

[87] The system is explained at large by Lipsius, de Militia Romana, a work so classical with critics, that Crevier corrects the text of Livy where inconsistent with it. Vid. Crevier, Not. ad Liv. vol. ii. p. 704. Could we believe Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius borrowed, without acknowledgement, his doctrine concerning the legionary order, from Francisco Patrizio. Patrizio's work is said to have been written in Italian. Vid. Scaligerean. Artic. Lipsius, Edit. Colon. Agrippin. An. 1667.

its pila, or missile spears resembling those of Homer's heroes, would have been unable to reach the enemy; much more the pila of the rear guard, or Triarii; so that, on this system, the inefficiency of men in a Roman army is too absurd for conception. CHAP. XII.

These inconveniencies are obviated by another, and more rational account of the legionary disposition.[88] Amidst unceasing conflicts with multiplied opponents, the Romans naturally discovered that other weapons, whether manual or missile, were all of them inferior in efficacy to their short massy swords, double edged, sharp pointed, and which, sustained by a proper arm of defence, were adapted alike to all varieties of ground and all descriptions of enemies. To make the best use of such a weapon, they saw the necessity of allowing the swordsman full space around him; and to leave to him this space within the smallest possible compass, they placed the men belonging to the second rank behind the intervals in the first, and the men belonging to the third rank behind the intervals in the second; compensating in safety to the soldier for this loose order by furnishing him with the *scutum*[89], a shield far more ample than the clypeus, which he had before worn. In consequence of this alteration, the Roman tactics became totally different from the Grecian. The Greeks acted

[88] For what follows I am indebted to a treatise in manuscript kindly communicated to me by the late General Melville.

[89] Clypeus illis, (Macedonibus) Romanis Scutum, majus corpori tegumentum. Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 19.

CHAP. XII.

in phalanx by the united impression of their mass, the men behind invigorating the impetus of those in the same file before them. But the Romans, not being drawn up in rank and file, for the latter of which no word occurs in their language[90], were obliged, each single combatant, to depend on the strenuous exertions of his strength and activity. Arranged in the quincunx, or chequer order, not of maniples[91], but of individuals, the legionary soldier had, within a given space, the freest scope for the motions of his sword in attack and for those of his shield in defence.[92] This chequer disposition was also

[90] This is sufficient to show that the file-order was not usual among them, though employed in particular instances, as at the famous battle of Zama, where the Romans were placed in direct *back-standing*, and at intervals, to make way for the enemy's elephants. Polybius, l. xv. c. 5. et seq.

[91] It would be presumptuous to say that the chequer-order by maniples never was employed. Yet upon a careful examination of all the ancient battles, that are described, I find not any one decisive example of it. The great depth assigned to it by Lipsius is better adapted to the phalanx than to the legion, and something very like his Roman order was practised, under particular circumstances, by Xenophon when he ascended the mountains, and defeated the Colchians. Expedit. Cyri, l. iv. p. 341. Comp. History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 26. The same tactics were employed by Philopœmen in the second battle of Mantinæa; of which hereafter.

[92] The beautiful passage in Cicero de Senectut. c. 17., where Lysander, upon viewing the plantations of Cyrus, admired "procoritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines;" and the more beautiful lines in virgil, Georg. ii. v. 280, where he recommends the planting of trees in a quincunx, as armies are drawn up:—

Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem,
Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus æquas
Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.

These passages apply, not to the quincunx of maniples of men, or of clumps of tress, but to the quincunx of individuals in both kinds, which arrangement alone allows either air and soil to the plants or elbow-room to the soldiers.

incomparably the best fitted with such weapons for facilitating the necessary successions in battle to the killed, wounded, or repulsed, whether these successions were made by individuals, by maniples, or by whole ranks: ranks still retaining the technical names of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, after the spear long or hasta had been totally laid aside, and the whole legion armed alike with the sword and pilum. This latter weapon was six feet long, terminating in a steel point; after discharging which missile spear[93], the Roman rushed on the enemy with his massy *gladius*. But I return from this technical digression, to the irruption of the Galli Senones. CHAP. XII.

Irruption of the Galli Senones. B. C. 390. U. C. 364.

These Gauls having traversed the lands long occupied in Italy by their brethren, dispossessed the eastern Tuscans and Umbrians of the territories between the rivers Utis and Æsis, extending from Ravenna to Ancona, ninety Roman miles along the coast of the Hadriatic. Not contented with this easy conquest, they marched to Clusium, a city in the heart of Tuscany, only fourscore miles from Rome, threatening the inhabitants with destruction, unless they resigned their well-cultivated fields. The Clusians, while they negotiated with the invaders, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, craving assistance as speedy as their danger was imminent.[94] The Romans sent by way of mediators between the

[93] Dionysius, Vegetius, et Lipsius de Milit. Roman. l. iii. c. 3.
[94] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 35. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

Gauls and Clusians three brothers of the Fabian family, the most distinguished in the republic for patriotism and boiling valour. The Fabii, according to their instructions, explained to the Gauls, that Clusium being united in strict friendship with Rome, any injury done to it could not be overlooked by their commonwealth, hitherto unacquainted with the Gauls, and desirous of being known to them only by good offices. The Gauls replied, "that they doubted not the bravery of the Romans, whom the Clusians had chosen for their protectors: but these people possessed more lands than they needed, and, if they refused to relinquish their superfluity, must prepare for a battle, in which the Romans, as spectators, might witness how far the prowess of the Gauls surpassed that of all other nations." [95] The Fabii remonstrated, but in vain: the Gauls told them, that their rights were in their swords.[96] A battle ensued, in which the Roman ambassadors distinguished themselves conspicuously in the first ranks; and one of them, Quintus Fabius, being carried beyond the van by the impetuosity of his horse, encountered, slew, and spoiled a Gallic chief.

Jus Feciale, the law of nations.

The fall of this chief was communicated by signal, to the whole invading army. The Gauls sounded a retreat; and stifled their animosity to Clusium, that it might be directed more fiercely against Rome. Though blind to their own in-

[95] Alexander remarked justly, δι κελται αιεν αλαζονες. "The Gauls were ever boasters." Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. i. c. 4.

[96] Se in armis jus ferre. Liv. l. v. c. 36.

justice, they were taught by their priests or elders, to discern that of the enemy, and to send messengers before them, demanding the Fabian brothers, as violators of the laws of nations. These laws were from the reign of Numa interpreted at Rome by the college of heralds[97], which, upon complaint from the Gauls, denounced the wrath of heaven against the commonwealth, unless the Fabii were surrendered to punishment, as men who had polluted the sanctity of their own official character; for among the Romans an awful sanctity invested every institution, and every agent subservient to the prevention or the termination of warfare. The senate concurred in reprobation of the unwarrantable proceedings of the Fabii; but in tenderness to persons of such distinguished hereditary worth, referred the ultimate decision to the people, who, instead of delivering into the cruel hands of Barbarians, three illustrious youths, whose fault had originated in extravagance of valour, named the Fabii, with three colleagues, for military tribunes. Apprised of this proceeding, the Gauls, who had been slowly advancing southward, precipitated their march to Rome with all the fury of ungovernable rage, declaring to the terrified cities in

CHAP. XII.

[97] The Feciales in Rome corresponded with the Ειρηνοδικοι in Greece. War was not to be levied till formally declared by them; and according to the Jus Feciale (the law of nations) could not be justly declared on any other grounds than those of making reprisals, of repelling or avenging injuries: omnia quæ defendi, repetique, et ulcisci fas sit. Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 49. Conf. Dionysius, l. ii. p. 131.

CHAP. XII.

their way, Rome only to be the object of their vengeance.

Allian rout. U. C. 364.

News of the approaching danger had scarcely arrived there, when the Gallic train, both cavalry and infantry, made its appearance, covering a vast extent of country. It exceeded seventy thousand in number, twice the force which the Romans could immediately march. Headed, however, by their military tribunes, they hastened to meet the invaders; and taking post eleven miles from Rome, on the left bank of the Allia, near its confluence with the Tiber, detached part of their number to seize a neighbouring eminence. Brennus, general of the Gauls, fearful of an attack in flank, determined first to dislodge this detachment, whose resistance, short and feeble as it was, saved the main body of Romans from destruction, but saved them at the expence of that pre-eminence in martial glory, which they had long and honourably sustained. The suddenness of the invasion had obliged them to omit those religious ceremonies which inspire confidence, and prevented them from employing those military precautions which ensure victory. Their warfare was new in itself, being unauthorised by the college of heralds; and they had to contend with a new and terrible enemy, whose numbers, impetuosity, singular arms, and more singular tactics[98], heightened the consternation first excited by their savage howlings, sanguinary

[98] See above, chapter x.

aspect, and gigantic stature. The Romans fled; one part of them towards Rome, the far greater to Veii.[99]

The conquerors paused in amaze at their easy victory. Apprehending an ambush, they explored the ground on all sides; and when danger in no part threatened them, they began to chaunt boastfully their warlike songs, to pile, in towering trophies, the Roman shields, which in the trepidation of flight had been abandoned, and to indulge in that levity of mirth, and those intemperate carousals, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the feasts of victory. Their intermediate position, however, prevented all communication between Rome and Veii; so that those of the routed army, who had entered the former city, regretted as lost, the far greater number of fugitives who had escaped to the latter. Thus reduced in strength, they despaired of being able to withstand the progress of the Gauls, or of defending the wide extent of Rome against the fury of their assault. The helpless crowd was encouraged to scatter itself southward, through the inferior strong-holds of Latium; while the priestesses of Vesta were permitted to transport the venerated symbols of their worship in an opposite direction to the Tuscan city Cæré, fifteen miles distant. In performing this sacred office, they were assisted by the piety of Lucius Albinius, a poor Plebeian, who, on beholding them after they had

[99] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 38. Conf. Plutarch in Camill.

CHAP. XII.

passed the wooden bridge across the Tiber, laboriously ascending mount Janiculum, placed them in a cart, in which he was conveying his wife and children to a place of safety. The preference given by Lucius to a religious duty, above the interests of his own family, was extolled by Roman historians, and his name passed in an obscure rumour into Greece, as that of the saviour of Rome. [100]

Rome, except the capitol, taken by the Gauls. B. C. 390. U. C. 364.

But this commonwealth was really saved by most extraordinary public exertions of patriotism and fortitude. On a similar occasion, the Athenians acquired immortal glory by abandoning their *city*, for the sake of their *country*. [101] With a magnanimity not less sublime, one part of the Romans invited certain death to render the other invincible. Retarded by their frantic rejoicings, the Gauls advanced not to Rome till the third day after the Allian rout. By this time, the more helpless inhabitants had dispersed over Latium; the men fit to bear arms had fortified themselves in the capitol: while the aged fathers of the republic, disdaining to encumber the warriors, or to diminish their supplies of food, seated themselves on their curule chairs, some in the Forum, others in the vestibules of their houses, and required Marcus Fabius, the high priest, to rehearse to them the form of devotion for the safety of the state. This ceremony being performed, they grasped their ivory

[100] Aristot. apud Plutarch in Camill.

[101] History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 10.

rods, and calmly waited the approach of the Barbarians. Amidst the dreary solitude and silence which prevailed in Rome, the majesty of such a sight might have overawed the Gauls, a nation peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, when the levity of a sportive Barbarian insulted the snow-white beard of Marcus Papirius. The venerable senator chid the offence with his ivory rod, and thereby provoked the Gaul's impetuous broad-sword: the contagious example was followed by his blood-thirsty companions, who completed the unresisted massacre.[102]

In the sack, which immediately followed, of Rome, the streets in many places were set on fire; by which wanton havoc, the Gauls diminished their own resources for besieging the capitol, now fortified by strong bulwarks in form of a citadel. The want of provisions obliged part of them to quit the blockade; and as the corn in the neighbourhood of Veii had by this time been conveyed thither, the Gauls foraged in an opposite direction, towards Ardea, a Roman colony, twenty miles south of its metropolis. In Ardea there resided an illustrious Patrician, now suffering exile and ignominy for great and brilliant services. Camillus, after conquering Veii, had celebrated games in the Circus, and triumphed in a chariot drawn by four horses of resplendent whiteness. This pomp offended the jealousy of republicans, by the glare of too conspicuous a prosperity. He was invidiously and

[102] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 38.

CHAP. XII.

most unjustly impeached of peculation, and foreseeing that factious suffrages would prevail, had retired tc Ardea in voluntary banishment.[103]

Camillus Dictator — Destruction of the Gauls. U. C. 367. B. C. 387.

But the good fortune of Rome sent Camillus to Ardea. At his instigation, the Ardeans, by a nocturnal march, surprised the Gauls buried in sleep and wine. Many of them were slain; and a party, being driven towards Antium, was totally destroyed by a sally from that place. Meanwhile, the army at Veii had received reinforcements from many neighbouring districts, and needed only a general like Camillus to conduct it to victory. Before naming an exile for Dictator, it seemed necessary to the army at Veii to consult the Romans besieged in the capitol, who still preserved all the legal forms of civil polity, passing regular decrees in name of the Senate and People. To gain admission to this pent-up majesty of the republic, was a great but not insuperable difficulty; for the Romans had always agents at command, ready for every enterprise. By means of a piece of buoyant bark, Pontius Cominius, an intrepid youth, floated unperceived down the stream of the Tiber; ascended an unguarded precipice on the bank; and communicated to the Romans in the capitol the wishes of their brethren at Veii. Camillus was voted Dictator: news of his election were conveyed to Veii by the successful return of Pontius thither. The Dictator hast-

[103] Plutarch in Camill.

ened from Ardea, and, having reviewed his army, immediately led it to Rome.[104]

Before his arrival, the capitol had been narrowly saved from surprise in the night, through the vigilance and valour of Marcus Manlius; a deliverance, however, that seemed of little importance, as the besieged were now perishing from hunger. Meanwhile, the Gauls learned that their own territories had been invaded by the warlike Veneti.[105] In haste to protect their homes, they gave intimation that, for a moderate ransom, they would consent to raise the siege. Famine compelled the Romans to listen to this mortifying proposal. Their military tribunes began to weigh a thousand Roman pounds of gold to king Brennus. That dishonest Barbarian had brought a false balance: the tribunes detected his fraud, and weighed the gold fairly: Brennus threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming, "woe to the vanquished." During a transaction, infamous on one side, and ignominious on the other, Camillus entered Rome with his army, to ransom the city with steel. A dreadful havoc was made of the Barbarians, first in the streets, and afterwards where they made a halt, at the eighth mile-stone on the road to Gabii. So complete was the destruction, that not a messenger returned home to report the public calamity.[106]

[104] Plutarch in Camill.

[105] We learn this important circumstance from Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. It is pertinently introduced by Plutarch, in his Discourse on the Good Fortune of Rome, p. 380. Edit. Xyland.

[106] Conf. Tit. Liv. Polybius, ubi supra, et Plutarch in Camill.

CHAP. XII.

Rome repaired.

The Romans thus recovered their city, but a city in ruins. That it might be the more speedily repaired, bricks were supplied by the public; and permission was granted of cutting timber, and digging stone wherever these materials abounded. Before the burning of Rome by the Gauls, many houses consisted of several stories, and were adorned by courts and vestibules.[107] They were rebuilt, doubtless, with less magnificence; for the owners were obliged to give sureties that the work should be completed within the year; and this desire of expedition prevented due care in straightening the streets, insomuch that the common sewers, which formerly ran below empty spaces, now too frequently annoyed the tenants of well-inhabited buildings. The capitol was strengthened with grateful diligence, and its stupendous basis of square stone, constructed on this occasion, remained a work of conspicuous grandeur in the age of Augustus. Amidst exertions essential to

[107] Tit. Liv. et Plutarch in Camill. They were thus distinguished from the huts of rustics, whether husbandmen or shepherds. Yet Montesquieu, in speaking of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, says "L'incendie de la ville ne fut que l'incendie de quelques cabanes de pasteurs." Grandeur et Decadence, cap. i. Nothing has propagated more false notions concerning things remote in place or time, than what the French call "l'Esprit." The modern writers who talk of the rudeness and barbarism of the ancient Romans think very differently from Cicero as quoted by Augustin. de Civitate Dei. l. xxii. c. 16. "Magis est in Romulo admirandum, quod cæteri, qui Dii ex hominibus facti esse dicuntur, minus eruditis hominum seculis fuerunt: Romuli autem ætatem, minus his sexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vita errore sublato, fuisse cernimus."

their subsistence or security, the Romans showed peculiar attention to the concerns of religion. This, as Camillus told them, was the primary and most important of all national objects; "since, in recalling to mind the vicissitudes of the Veientian and Gallic war, they must perceive that success had uniformly accompanied their obedience to the gods, whereas disaster had as constantly resulted from the guilt of an opposite behaviour." [108]

From the rebuilding of the city, the Romans were, in the course of one hundred and seven years, brought nine times in competition with the Gauls, in as many tumultuary wars, commonly decided by the event of single battles. Before the end of this period, the Romans discovered that these restless enemies had not strength proportional to their stature; that their impetuous courage wanted perseverance and firmness; that, though in their first assaults they were greater than men, in their second they were less than women [109]: in fine, that in all things, the Gauls were more showy than substantial.

[108] Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 54.

[109] Ibid. l. x. c. 28. In the account of the Gallic wars, there are considerable differences between Polybius, l. ii. c. 18. et seq. and Livy, l. vi. c. 22. l. vii. c. 9. 11. 23. et l. viii. c. 20. et l. x. c. 27. That Livy used much freedom with other authors as well as with Polybius, will appear from comparing his account of Manlius's combat with the gigantic Gaul, l. vii. c. 10. and that of Claudius Quadrigarius, preserved in Aulus Gellius, l. ix. c. 13. Quadrigarius was contemporary with Sisenna, who also wrote a Roman history, and flourished in the time of Sylla. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 9. Livy professes to follow Quadrigarius in l. vii. c. 10. et l. viii. c. 9.

CHAP. XII.

War with the Samnites. U.C. 414. B. C. 340.

In the midst of the Gallic wars, and about half a century after the rebuilding of Rome, the commonwealth first engaged in hostilities with a nation of a far more obstinate character. This was the Samnites, a people inhabiting those rough and lofty tracts of the Apennine, which overlook Latium and Campania on one side, the Hadriatic sea on the other; and which diverge in their southern course towards Apulia and Lucania. From their central mountains, they poured down their arms and colonies towards the Hadriatic and Tuscan seas; and eighty years before this period, a party of Samnites surprised Vulturnus, the principal Tuscan settlement in Campania, butchered the inhabitants, and appropriated their city and territory.[110] From Capua, the new name of Vulturnus, these daring assassins are commonly called Capuans; and their bloody usurpation of that place, compared with the transactions which we are now going to relate, affords a memorable instance of the change which may be operated, in the course of fourscore years, on the characters of men, through local circumstances and climate.

The Samnites, in their various encroachments, had hitherto met with no opposition from Rome; and, as they admired the valour and good fortune of this commonwealth in the wars which have just been related, they solicited and obtained the friendship of its magistrates,

[110] Tit. Liv. l. iv. c. 37.

and were accepted as its allies. Presuming on this treaty, they made war on the Sidicini [111], a people of Campania, whose capital was within five miles of the Liris; the eastern boundary of Latium. This war was not coloured with the slightest pretence of justice. The Samnites, descending from the Apennine, had been accustomed to infest many adjacent plains, and they quarrelled with the Sidicini, merely because they were strong enough to plunder them with impunity.

The Capuans surrender their territory and persons to the Romans. U.C. 414.

The Sidicini applied for assistance to their neighbours the Capuans, and obtained it from that people whose own safety appeared to be at stake. Both communities were defeated by the Samnites; upon which event, the Capuans sent an embassy to Rome, supplicating protection against fierce mountaineers, with whom they acknowledged, that their own city, populous as as it was, and next to Rome, the greatest and richest in all Italy, was totally unable to contend. The senate replied, by the voice of the Consul Valerius, "The Romans would willingly contract friendship with the Capuans; but unfortunately a prior friendship stands in the way. We are allied with the Samnites; on which account we cannot arm in your defence, without violating our duty to the gods, as well as to our confederates; to whom, however, we shall intimate our desire, that they desist from further hostilities." Upon receiving this answer, the

[111] Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 29.

CHAP. XII.

spokesman of the Capuan embassy said, according to the instructions brought with him, these memorable words, "Although you refuse, conscript fathers! to protect the Capuans against unprovoked violence, you will doubtless defend your own property. We therefore surrender to you Capua, its people, and territory, and temples. They are now your own; and whatever wrong may be done them is henceforth committed against the jurisdiction of Rome." The ambassadors then fell prostrate in the vestibule of the senate-house, with supplicating hands, and heavy moans, and eyes streaming with tears. Historians do not insinuate, that these abject demonstrations might be nothing more than an artful drama, previously concerted with the Romans, for the purpose of enabling them to elude, without dishonour, their treaty with the Samnites. An embassy, however, was sent by them to Samnium of a quite different import from that proposed by Valerius, communicating the recent surrender of Capua; and commanding their ancient allies to abstain from injustice towards their new subjects. The Samnian magistrates, assembled in their supreme council, set this mandate at defiance; and in hearing of the Roman ambassadors, ordered their forces into Campania.[112]

Battle near Mount Gaurus. U. C. 414. B. C. 340.

Their audacity, when made known at Rome, filled all ranks with indignation. The senate dispatched heralds into Samnium, to demand

[112] Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 31.

reparation of wrongs; and,[112] in case of refusal, solemnly to denounce war. The popular assembly, upon learning that justice was denied, decreed that the consuls, Valerius and Cornelius, should immediately march, the former into Campania, the latter into Samnium. Valerius encamped near Mount Gaurus in Campania, where the eagerness and confidence on both sides hastened the day of battle. Neither the swordsmen, nor the cavalry of the Romans could break the Samnite line, bristling with spears; and the resistance, insurmountable to mere force, was to be overcome only by such transports of military enthusiasm as were displayed in this first conflict with a new and formidable enemy. The Samnites had entered the field against men, whose renown filled Italy, with a resolution to conquer or die: and when asked, after defeat, what had changed their purpose, they said, that the flashing eyes of the Romans blasted opposition; and that their fierce countenances and wild demeanour, were not to be endured.[113] The Romans took possession of their camp; the Capuans and other Campanians flocked from all quarters to congratulate the victors. During Valerius's war in Campania, his colleague gained a still more bloody battle in Samnium. Thirty thousand

CHAP. XII.

[113] Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos — vesanos vultus et furentia ora. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 33. Conf. Plutarch in Pyrrho, p. 398. Edit. Xyland. "Valour," he says, "was well understood by Homer, who characterises it as the only virtue agitated by all the madness of enthusiasm."

CHAP. XII.

of the enemy are said to have fallen, and subsequent disasters so much dismayed the Samnites, that, when the consul Æmilius invaded their territory, he was met, not by hostile armies, but by supplicating embassies.[114] He therefore granted to them peace, upon receiving three months' provisions, and a year's pay, for his legions.

Rebellion of the Latins abetted by the Campanians. U. C. 416—419. B. C. 338—335.

These legions, indeed, were speedily to be employed in a more domestic warfare. Dangerous discontents prevailed among the Latins, who had long formed one-half of the Roman armies. The spirit of mutiny was fomented by ambitious chiefs, particularly Annius of Setia, and Numicius of Circeii. These men, equally artful and enterprising, maintained that civil society inferred perfect equality of law, and that this equality could only be secured by a fair rotation of magistracy; on which account they insisted that the Latins should enjoy a due share in the consular and senatorian power. At the distance of one hundred and sixty-one years from the victory at the lake Regillus, which had confirmed their supremacy over Latium, the Romans were thus brought into a new war with a people, who boasted the same blood and courage with themselves, who had conformed to the same institutions, both civil and military; in a word, who had every thing in common with them, except their unbending loftiness of patriotism and of policy. These virtues never

[114] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 1.

shone more conspicuously than in the present renewed struggle with the Latins, and the Campanians their rash abetters. In the first great battle, fought near the roots of Mount Vesuvius, the consul Manlius, who twenty years before had despoiled the Giant Gaul, and acquired the surname of Torquatus, inflicted death on his own son for combating beyond the ranks [115]: the other consul Decius devoted himself to the infernal gods for the safety of his army. [116] This moral machinery proved irresistible. The enemy were repeatedly vanquished in Campania; and, upon a renewal of hostilities, completely subdued on the banks of the Astura, near the city Pedum in Latium. Lucius Camillus rivalled the glory of his kinsman Marcus, conqueror of the Gauls; and entering Rome in triumph, referred to the senate in what manner the Latins ought in future to be treated, observing that through the bounty of the gods, it now depended on that council, whether these rebels should any longer exist as a nation.

Treatment of the vanquished and settlement of the Roman conquests. U. C. 419 —422. B. C. 335 —332.

That correct justice might be administered, the senate determined, that each community, both of Latium and Campania, should be tried separately. Some states were stripped of their lands; new Roman colonies were established in cities belonging to others; national assemblies, and all federal institutions were thenceforth abolished among the Latins, that these allies might be connected with each other, only

[115] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 7. [116] Ibid. c. 9.

CHAP. XII.

through the intervention of Rome. But, in compensation for these severities, the fidelity of Laurentium was rewarded with an equal and honourable alliance. Tusculum retained the privileges of Roman citizenship formerly conferred on it. The same benefits were extended to four other Latin cities; Nomentum, Pedum, Lanuvium, and Aricia; forming at the radius of fifteen or twenty miles from Rome, a half circle on the east of that capital.* In Campania, and the adjacent district of the Aurunci, similar immunities were granted to Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Capua, Suessala; and soon afterwards to Acerra. Colonies were planted at Cales in the territory of the Ausones, and at Fregellæ in that of the Sidicini.[117] To the north, as we have seen, the Romans enjoyed many strongholds, intermixed with the possessions of the Sabines and Tuscans. They now acquired equally important outposts in the south, stretching an hundred and twenty miles from Rome. The number of citizens amounted to nearly two hundred thousand. Thus in Italy, as afterwards in a large portion of the world, the Romans united and rewarded their friends, divided and punished their enemies; and these simple maxims, flowing from plain sense and natural passion, led them more surely to empire, than all the windings of that crooked policy with which their proceedings are sometimes justly branded.

[117] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 13. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

The extension of their ascendency and power excited much fear and jealousy among the states of Magna Græcia, from Palæpolis, the neighbour and elder sister of Naples, to the far distant Tarentum; a republic whose wealth and commercial prosperity had been long marked in the communication of its name to the great adjacent gulph. All these cities, as we have seen, were deformed by the levity and capriciousness incident to the worst form of democracy; and each had too little stability in its domestic councils to inspire its neighbours with respect or confidence. Like Greeks in all parts of the world, they had among them ingenious and able men, whose sage admonitions they despised; generally committing their concerns to meretricious orators, or petulant buffoons, whose congeniality of character raised them to unrivalled credit with the thoughtless multitude. Under the influence of such counsellors, the commonwealth of Palæpolis wantonly injured the Roman settlers in Campania; and, encouraged by the Samnites, whose resentment, long stifled, had never been extinguished, answered all demands for reparation in terms of defiance.[118] Having unwisely provoked the Romans, Palæpolis more unwisely admitted a garrison of Samnites. The Romans sent an embassy into Samnium, complaining of the assistance thrown into Palæpolis as an infraction of the late peace. The Samnites returned a proud answer, challenging the

The extension of the Roman ascendency alarms Magna Græcia. U. C. 430. B. C. 324.

[118] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 22.

CHAP. XII.

Romans to meet them in the plain of Capua.[119] The ambassadors rejoined, that the legions were accustomed to march whither their own generals commanded them: with all possible dispatch, they proceeded under the consul Papirius into Samnium, and, besides committing dreadful ravages on the open country, conquered the walled towns Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruffrium.[120]

The address of Charilaus and Nymphius by which they save Palæpolis. U. C. 431. B. C. 323.

Meanwhile Publilius Philo, consul of the former year, was continued in command until he should finish the war with the insolent Palæpolitans. By making a judicious encampment, he had cut them off from all communication with their brethren in Naples, on the opposite or right bank of the river Sebetus; and, in addition to the usual severities of war, the besieged were dreadfully afflicted by the rapacity, cruelty, and unbridled lust of the Samnites, who were entertained as their protectors. Charilaus and Nymphius, two bold and able citizens, saw no other safety for the place than a speedy surrender of it to the Romans. Having concerted between them the means for effecting this measure, Charilaus repaired secretly to the consul, and acquainting him with his project, subjoined, that it would depend on the treatment of the surrendered city, whether he himself should pass with posterity for a patriot or a traitor. Publilius sent him away with good hopes, and escorted by 3000 soldiers, for whose operations his accomplice Nymphius was at this time providing an

[119] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 23. [120] Ibid. c. 25.

opportunity. Under the semblance of fierce animosity to Rome, this artful Greek persuaded the Samnites in garrison, that, as the principal strength of the enemy was then employed in distant service, it would be easy for them to make a descent on the coast of Latium, and to carry their ravages even to the gates of its capital; for which purpose, however, it would be necessary to set sail secretly in the night-time. Agreeably to this plan, all ships in the harbour were put in readiness, and the Samnites, at the close of night, proceeded thither for embarkation. Then was the time for Nymphius to exert his native dexterity; and, by a number of ready artifices, to creat confusion and delay, until Charilaus with his Roman escort should arrive, and surprise the nearly defenceless city; an enterprise not more skilfully contrived than boldly executed The Palæpolitans obtained safety on submission; a few troops belonging to Nola, a town ten miles distant, were glad to escape through the northern gate; while the Samnites, betrayed and now deserted by Nymphius, and excluded from the surprised city, which contained all their necessaries, fled in trepidation homeward, in extreme want and half naked, objects of derision and mockery in the different districts through which they passed.[121] We know not how exactly Publilius fulfilled his tacit stipulations with Charilaus. It is certain that from this time forward, Naples,

[121] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 26.

CHAP. XII.

or the new city, rose on the decline of the old; and assumed its proper station as head of the Greek settlements on its beautiful bay. The Romans confirmed the pre-eminence of Naples, and entered into an equal and honourable treaty with its magistrates.

Artifice by which the Tarentines gain the Lucanians to their party. U. C. 431. B. C. 323.

These transactions were not viewed with unconcern by Tarentum. The defection of the Lucanians, its nearest neighbours, and the submission of the kindred colony of Palæpolis, were the circumstances that occasioned most anxiety. The fate of Palæpolis seemed irrevocable; but the Lucanians, a barbarous and unsteady people, it was hoped, might be again prevailed on to change sides. For bringing them over from the party of the Romans, a stratagem was put in practice that could have been devised only by the profligate artifice of the Tarentines, and that could have proved successful only with the credulous stupidity of the Lucanians. Some youths, more distinguished by their rank in life, than respectable for their characters, were bribed to tear with lashes each other's backs, and then expose their bleeding bodies in the Lucanian assembly, demanding vengeance for cruelties thus inflicted on them by the Romans.[122] The multitude beheld, believed, pitied, and called aloud for a meeting of the senate, in which council it was determined to renew the league with Samnium, and to bind the public faith by giving hostages to that state, and

[122] Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 28.

entrusting to it the possession of several Lucanian stong-holds.

War with the Samnites aud their allies. U. C. 432. B. C. 322.

The confederacy of the Samnites was at the same time joined by the Vestini, one of the numerous colonies of Sabines. The last-mentioned people, being confined on the north-east by Umbria, and on the south-west by Latium, had early poured down their plantations along the Hadriatic sea, under the various names of Vestini, Peligni, Picentes, Marrucini, while their more illustrious colony of Marsi occupied the central ridges of the Apennine. To repress the Vestini, whose hostilities might be followed by those of many kindred tribes in their neighbourhood, the consul, Junius Brutus, hastened into their territory, and sacked two of their towns, Cutina and Cingalia. His colleague Lucius Camillus was obliged, through bad health, to name Papirius Cursor for carrying on the war in Samnium. The Samnites were twice defeated with great slaughter. Twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen in the battle of Imbrinium. Having consented to furnish cloathing and a year's pay for the Roman army, they obtained a short truce, which they had the folly to violate. Their country was invaded anew by Cornelius Arvina, and they were compelled to the disgraceful resolution of making atonement for the guilt of the community by surrendering Brutulus Papius, a bold and powerful citizen, accused as instigator of the war. Papius withdrew from ignominy by a voluntary death. His body and effects, however, were sent in

CHAP. XII.

solemn procession to Rome; but the Romans disdained private satisfaction for the public delinquency, and rejected all terms of accommodation with a people who had so often prove themselves void of faith.

The Caudine Forks. Two Roman legions passed under the yoke. U. C. 435. B. C. 319.

This decision was represented as inexorable cruelty by Caius Pontius the bravest of the Samnites, and son to Herennius the wisest of that nation. Pontius exhorted them to consider *that* war as just, which circumstances made necessary, and the conflicts of those as pious, whose sole resource was in arms.[123] The Samnites followed him into the field, to resist two consular armies that were expected to enter their country. To receive them, Pontius, adding craft to boldness, took post in the valley of Caudium, the narrowest and darkest in the Apennines. By soldiers, disguised as shepherds, the consuls Veturius and Posthumius were assured that the Samnites had marched into Apulia, and in the design of following them thither allowed themselves to be decoyed into the most intricate defile of Caudium, overhung by woody rocks, and known by the name of the Caudine Forks. Here their progress was suddenly interrupted. They perceived that the road had been obstructed by trunks of trees and huge masses of rock. The sides of the valley presented unsurmountable precipices. The Samnites were next descried on the contiguous heights. In this extremity the Romans endeavoured to turn back,

[123] Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. et seq.

but found their retreat also cut off by artifical barriers, guarded by the enemy. Pontius consulted his father Herennius, how best to avail himself of this bloodless victory. The wise old man advised him either to grant the Romans entire safety, or to put the whole of them to death. Pontius rejected the extremes of useful mildness, or perhaps more useful severity. He exasperated the Romans to irreconcileable enmity by making them pass under the ignominious yoke, at the same time that he spared their lives on the hollow promise of peace, which those who gave it had neither the power nor the will to ratify. Within the space of a few months Papirius Cursor retaliated the disgrace of the Caudine Forks, on a garrison of 7000 Sabines, which he found in Luceria, a city which he wrested from them in Apulia. The war having thus recommenced with wounds to mutual pride, deeper sometimes than those of blood, continued to be carried on with little intermission till the memorable expedition of Pyrrhus, in whose final defeat the fortune of Samnium and all the more southern districts of Italy was involved.[124]

Events in the war with the Samnites and their allies. U. C. 440—473. B. C. 314—281.

In the course of this long conflict, relentless on one side, and desperate on the other, the Romans experienced several severe checks, but never met with any very signal loss; whereas the Samnites, on five different occasions, are said to have left above twenty thousand slain in the

[124] Tit. Liv. l. ix. c. 1. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

field.[125] The bloodiest battles were those of Beneventum in Samnium, and Aquilonia in Apulia, in the latter of which the Roman cavalry decided the battle with well-levelled spears, breaking down the enemies' battalions wherever they charged. Next year Fabius Maximus, among other Samnite prisoners, seized the person of Caius Pontius, their intrepid chief, the idol of his country and the shame of its enemies. Pontius adorned the conqueror's triumph, and his death then expiated the ignominy which he had inflicted at the Caudine Forks, on two consular armies.[126] With the loss of their favourite leader, the Samnites lost for a while the spirit of resistance; and having craved and obtained a truce, they were accused of violating their faith for the sixth time. On this last occasion they were powerfully abetted by the Lucanians and the Brutii, and the force of the war was directed towards the Greek colony of Thurium, formerly Sybaris, situate on the southern side of the broad Tarentine gulph, opposite to, and seventy miles distant from Tarentum. This colony, called indifferently Thurium or Thurii, had always maintained, as we have seen, a connection with the mother country, and a dozen years before the war of Peloponnesus had been reinforced by a considerable emigration of Athenians, deriving peculiar honour from the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Lysias, who are numbered

Thurium becomes the seat of the war, its siege raised. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

[125] Tit. Liv. l. ix. & x. passim.

[126] Eutropius, l. ii. Orosius, l. iii. c. 22.

CHAP. XII.

among the colonists.[127] To resist the Lucanians and Brutii, by whom it was surrounded, and whose animosity it had provoked by refusing to join in their confederacy with the Samnites, Thurii entered into the closest friendship with Rome, accepted a Roman garrison for its defence; and in consequence of this intimacy with a city that had been long one of the most distinguished in Magna Græcia, the Romans first began to examine as matters of improvement or curiosity, the language and arts of their remote Grecian ancestors.[128] To expel the Romans from Thurii, the Samnites, with their allies, bent the most desperate efforts of their resentment and obstinacy. But the illustrious Fabricius, whose character will appear more conspicuously in the war with Pyrrhus, defeated them in a great and decisive battle[129], in the year immediately preceding the arrival of that prince in Italy.

Contemporary wars with the Æqui and Volsci, Tuscans and Gauls. U. C. 440—470. B. C. 314—284.

In the central territory between the Rubicon and the borders of Campania, the Romans had been equally successful. The Æqui and Volsci, the Sidicini and Ausones, who had co-operated in the first scenes of the Samnite war, were punished almost by total extirpation, and their territories were occupied or rather entirely colonised by the conquerors. The Tuscan commonwealths of Perusia, Arretium, Volsinii, fought

[127] Conf. Strabo, l. vi. Diodor. l. xii. Plutarch in Pericl. & Dionys. Halicarn. in Lysia.

[128] Appian. de Reb. Samn. & Plutarch in Flamin.

[129] Liv. Epitom. l. xii. Dionysius, Excerp. Legat. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 6. & Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

CHAP. XII.

separately and were successively subdued. Other Tuscan states were equally unfortunate, whether they took arms spontaneously, or by compulsion of the Gauls; first objects of their rapacity, next victims in their warfare. The legions, after an interval of forty years, met this new invasion of Gauls at Sentinum in Umbria. Their rattling chariots of war frightened the Roman cavalry, when the consul Publius Decius, in imitation of his father of the same name, devoted himself to death for the safety of his country.[130] Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were slain, and eight thousand made prisoners. Nearly ten years, however, elapsed, before the Galli Senones were totally exterminated by the consul Cornelius Dolabella, who reduced their desolated city Sena into a Roman colony, and secured this bulwark against more northern Gauls by a decisive victory over the Boii at the lake Vademon in Tuscany.[131]

Roman conquests and colonies.—Luceria and Saticula. U. C. 440—441.

During this tide of military success, the prosperity of the Romans, we may observe, was marked and confirmed by the establishment of colonies. Early in the Samnite war, they colonised the important strong-holds of Luceria and Saticula on the immediate frontier of their enemy. The Umbri were punished for a short defection by being bridled with a garrison in their strongest city Nequinum, or Narni. The same year Carseoli was planted in the country of the Marsi,

Carseoli. U. C. 456. Minturnæ

[130] Tit. Liv. l. x. c. 28.

[131] Dionys. Halicarn. Excerp. Legit.

CHAP. XII.

the bravest of the Sabine race; and shortly afterwards Minturnæ and Sinuessa, both of them on the frontier of Campania, the former near the mouth of the river Liris, the latter in the Vescian forest: and scarcely four years intervened, before the Romans sent one of their largest colonies to Venusia in Apulia. It consisted of twenty thousand men, and proved of vast importance in maintaining their authority over that extensive district. Upon the whole, previous to the war of Tarentum, they should seem to have established at least thirty colonies in different parts of Italy. [132]

and Sinuessa. U. C. 458.

Venusia. U. C. 462.

The Tarentines, as we have seen, had descended to the vilest artifices, for interposing a strong barrier between the manly valour of Rome and their own voluptuous effeminacy. But when they perceived that, by the falling of one people after another, the war was brought to their borders, anger carried them to an act of capricious rashness, which could have been committed only by a city like Tarentum, the abstract and essence of depraved democracy. It happened that the Romans in ten decked ships, a force sufficient to protect them against pirates, sailed, probably from Thurii, to survey [133] the neighbouring coasts of Magna Græcia; and being still at peace with Tarentum, prepared to enter that port as into a friendly harbour. Many Tarentines were then assembled, as was custo-

The Tarentines destroy a Roman fleet. U. C. 470. B. C. 284.

[132] Liv. l. x. & xi. passim. Conf. Strabo, l. v.

[133] Εθεατο την μεγαλην Ελλαδα. Appian. de Rebus Samnit. c. vii. p. 57. Edit. Schweigh.

CHAP. XII.

mary with a people who lived only for pleasure, in their magnificent and spacious theatre, from which they had a distinct view of all vessels which approached their coast. Upon sight of the Roman ships, the spectators were thrown into an uproar. The consciousness of their own injuries, made them suspect the strangers of hostility. Philocharis, nicknamed Thais, the most profligate of men, and therefore the most acceptable to the multitude, cried out, that the guard-ships in the harbour must be launched, and the Barbarians repelled. His orders were obeyed; the Romans betook themselves to flight; five of their ships escaped, four were sunk, one was taken, and its crew either put to the sword, or dragged into slavery. Proud of this inglorious success, the Tarentines hastily marched to Thurii, compelled its slender garrison to capitulate, banished the nobles, and plundered the city.[134]

Their beastly insult to the ambassador, Posthumius. U. C. 472. B. C. 282.

Instead of proceeding immediately to punish these outrages, the Romans, according to their law of nations, sent an embassy to Tarentum with demands of satisfaction. The embassy was headed by Lucius Posthumius, a man of consular dignity. It was admitted to the bar of the Tarentine assembly, convened, as often happened in Greek cities, in the great theatre. But before the ambassadors declared the subject of their mission, their dress, their appearance,

[134] Dionys. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 743. et seq. Conf. Appian, ubi supra.

CHAP. XII.

and as soon as they began to speak, the inaccuracies of their language and pronunciation, (for they made use of the Greek tongue) excited derision and mockery among the petulant rabble. Upon their demand, that the authors of most unprovoked violence, against the Romans and their allies, should be surrendered to condign punishment, they were hissed contumeliously from the theatre; and the buffoon Philonides, (for the names of such wretches only occur in the history of Tarentum,) followed closely after Posthumius, and lifting up his own garment, defiled with his excrement, the senatorian purple. The grinning multitude claimed his beastly insult for their own, whilst Posthumius calmly declared that the blood of the Tarentines should wash the stain from his laticlave. [135]

They invite Pyrrhus to command them. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

That wretched people, uniting in an extraordinary degree folly with false refinement, thus provoked the resentment of Rome, without possessing the first requisite in war, a good general. As a free and commercial state, their walls defended them against neighbouring Barbarians; their fleet, against foreign enemies; they were jealous of military power, and careless of military merit; and their ancestors, on various occasions, to avoid employing commanders among themselves, who might have been tempted to become usurpers, had usefully engaged in their service, generals formed in the experienced schools of

[135] Dionysius, Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 743, et seq.

CHAP. XII.

Greece and Sicily. In compliance with such precedents, the Tarentines, in looking abroad for a stranger qualified to defend them, cast their eyes on Pyrrhus of Epirus, then on the point of contending[136] for the kingdom of Macedon, with the detestable Ptolemy Keraunus, when the ambassadors of Tarentum and her allies gave a new direction to his arms.[137]

His great views.—He makes sail for Italy. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

According to the custom of that age, the ambassadors presented him with crowns of gold as tributes of respect from their several cities. They assured him, that the strength of the seaports in Magna Græcia, and of the Italian confederates around them, exceeded three hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry; a mighty force which they were desirous of entrusting to the greatest general of the age, that he might employ it against an upstart and arrogant republic on the banks of the Tiber. Pyrrhus needed not the encouragement of this alluring exaggeration. His ancestors had fought with glory in defence of the Greek colonies in Italy; his affinity with the house of Agathocles gave him a personal concern in the affairs of Sicily and even of Africa; and his own genius, being vast and romantic, and emboldened by great, sudden, and most improbable strokes of fortune, he presumed to take the great Alexander for his model, and doubted not his abilities to produce in one-half of the world, a revolution similar to what his renowned kinsman

[136] See above, chap. x. p. 240.

[137] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

had effected in the other. Through the peninsula of Asia, the son of Philip had ascended to universal empire in the East; Pyrrhus hoped to make the peninsula of Italy, the ladder by which he was to attain an equal supremacy in the West. Under such flattering delusions, he immediately dispatched to Tarentum his lieutenant and friend Cineas, the Thessalian, at the head of 3000 men; and being furnished with transports by his allies in Magna Græcia, followed in person with a far greater force, partly raised in Epirus, and partly received from Ptolemy Keraunus on condition of leaving that murderous usurper in quiet possession of Macedon. This second embarkation consisted of twenty thousand heavy-armed infantry, three thousand horse, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants[138]: a well-composed army, which, by the Greeks of that age, might very reasonably have been deemed capable of making boundless conquests among barbarous nations.

His proceeding at Tarentum. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

The first imprudence of Pyrrhus was that of setting sail at the stormy opening of spring, in consequence of which rashness his transports were scattered by a tempest, and even his own galley wrecked on the coast of Messapia. The inhabitants of that extensive district, encompassing the territory of Tarentum, having entered into all the views of their Grecian neighbours, received with respectful courtesy.

[138] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP. XII.

prince who had braved every danger in hastening to their aid. Pyrrhus advanced to Tarentum at the head of little more than two thousand men; he was met on the way by an escort under Cineas; and a few days after his arrival at the place of destination, most of his transports reached its capacious harbour in safety. The Tarentines had suffered much uneasiness during the storm by which the king's ships were assailed; and fearing the immediate vengeance of Rome, had pusillanimously pent themselves up within their walls. Pyrrhus exhorted them to employ nobler means of safety. By his orders, an exact account was taken of the males fit to bear arms. Levies were made with all possible expedition; and the king, soon discovering the cowardice of the people with whom he had to do, charged the press-masters to bring him personable men, such as had size and strength, saying that it would be his own business to fashion them into soldiers.[139] In conformity with this resolution of rendering Tarentum a place of arms, the number of useless holidays was reduced; unseasonable solemnities were proscribed; an order was issued for shutting up the public walks and gardens, the porticoes of prating politicians, the gymnasia for idle exercise, above all, the innumerable bagnios, those vile resorts of licentious murmurs and lazy voluptuousness. Instead of an indulgent master whom they had voluntarily chosen, the Tarentines

[139] Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 1.

began to complain that they had found a cruel taskmaster.[140] Pyrrhus treated these words as seditious; some of the more audacious demagogues, he is said to have taken off by assassination: others of them, he ordered under various pretences into Epirus[141], governed in his own absence by his son Ptolemy, nephew on the side of his mother Antigoné to Ptolemy Philadelphus, then reigning with great glory in Egypt. CHAP. XII.

There was in Tarentum a certain Aristarchus, a man of much eloquence and address, and so universally acceptable to his countrymen, that Pyrrhus was at some loss by what means most safely to remove him. To ruin the credit of this favourite, he affected to take Aristarchus into his most intimate confidence; and, mingling the artifice of courts with the severity of camps, caused it to be industriously circulated that the measures most displeasing to the Tarentines had all of them been suggested by this able counsellor. Soon afterwards, Aristarchus was dispatched on pretence of an honourable commission to young Ptolemy, viceroy in Epirus. He embarked without any apparent reluctance, but determined in his own mind to elude the arts of the king by similar address; for he was no sooner beyond the reach of Tarentum, than he commanded his pilot to steer for the coast of Latium, and was received cordially at Rome as a person well qualified to serve the common- Aristarchus the Tarentine demagogue escapes to Rome.

[140] Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 3.

[141] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP. XII.

wealth.[142] From him, the Romans first learned the vigorous preparations of the enemy: that the Messapians, Lucanians, and Samnites were ready to co-operate with the Greeks; and that embassies had been sent to the Tuscans, Umbri, and Gauls to rouse against Rome the ill-stifled animosity of these nations, and to make them participate in a war that would assuage their rancorous hatred.

A legion, consisting of 4000 Campanians, massacres the Rhegians, and usurps their city. U. C. 473. B. C. 281.

The first care of the Romans was to secure the fidelity of their allies. They next sent a legion of 4000 men to protect the inhabitants of Regium, who, though Greeks by blood and language, were Romans in affection. But it unfortunately happened that the greater part of this legion consisted of licentious Campanians, headed by their countrymen Decius Iubellius, a wretch capable of every enormity. The Campanians beheld from Rhegium the towers of Messené on the opposite side of the Strait, and the sight reminded them of the successful villany of their now envied brethren. Iubellius exhorted them, in the midst of the general convulsion of Italy, to imitate the bold example which would crown them with wealth and power. The design was executed as cruelly as it had been wickedly conceived. The unsuspecting Rhegians were massacred; their women and property became a spoil to the murderers; and these fierce assassins, having soon entered into a confederacy with their neighbours of

[142] Zonaras, Plutarch.

CHAP. XII.

Messené, brethren to them in blood and infamy, set the resentment of Rome at defiance, and styled themselves the new commonwealth of Rhegium.[143] We shall see in due time the late but dreadful vengeance which overtook the contriver and the actors in this abominable enterprise.

Pyrrhus defeats the Romans on the river Siris, and advances to Prænestè, within 25 miles of Rome. U. C. 474.

Meanwhile the consul Coruncanius, having marched northwards to repress insurrections in Tuscany, the concerns of the south were committed to his colleague Lævinus. He proceeded into Lucania, and encamped on the left bank of the Siris, which, after watering the Platæan settlement Pandosia, flows into the Tarentine gulph near Heraclæa, a colony of Tarentum. Pyrrhus was also in the field, but still unaccompanied by his auxiliares. Lævinus hoped to fight him before their arrival; and having received from him a herald with the offer of his mediation between Rome and Magna Græcia, the consul made reply, "that his countrymen neither desired Pyrrhus for their judge, nor feared him as their enemy." That he might discover the foundation of this extraordinary confidence, Pyrrhus employed fit emissaries to examine the number and quality of the adverse army. They were detected, however, and conducted to Lævinus, who, instead of punishing them as spies, ordered them to be shown every thing at the greatest leisure. They were then dismissed to their employer, with the inform-

[143] Polybius, l. i. c. 7. & Diodorus, Eclog. xxii. 2. p. 494.

CHAP. XII.

ation, that a second, and far greater army than that which they had just reviewed, was ready to take the field. The king scarcely believing his own agents, ventured to reconnoitre in person the quadrangular camp of the Romans; and when he had accurately surveyed the judicious plan of the whole, and the nice configuration of the parts, exclaimed to Megacles, an accompanying general, "These Barbarians have nothing barbarous in their encampments; we shall see, whether the bravery of their actions corresponds with the skill of their dispositions." But every thing that he had yet heard or seen, inclined him to avoid a battle before the arrival of his expected succours. For this purpose it was necessary to defend, if possible, the passage of the Siris. His movements, however, with this intention, were ill-concerted and unsuccessful. The Romans passed the river with little molestation. A general action ensued, in which the legions were seven times repelled by the phalanx, and seven times returned to the charge.[144] Pyrrhus performed prodigies of valour; his horse was killed under him, and Megacles, fighting in royal armour, was mistaken and slain for his master. The victory of the Greeks was due to the compact arrangement of their phalanx; to the terror occasioned among the Roman horse by the appearance and noise of the elephants; and to the rapid evolution and resistless irruption of the Thessalians, whose squadrons

[144] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

were conspicuous in all the combats of cavalry during that age. According to the most moderate computation, the Romans lost 7000 men; the Greeks about half that number: the vanquished, abandoning their camp, retreated into the still friendly district of Apulia: Pyrrhus, after burying even the enemy's slain, out of respect to their valour, hastened into Campania, in hopes to make conquests, or gain allies through the fame of his victory. His attempts failed against Naples and Capua; he captured Fregellæ, a Roman colony on the Siris, and from thence proceeded to Præneste, within twenty-five miles of Rome.

Occurrences in the negociation about exchange of prisoners.

By this time two legions had been raised with a view to reinforce Lævinus, and his colleague Coruncanius had returned triumphant from Tuscany. Pyrrhus, in consequence of this intelligence, perceived his danger of being inclosed between two consular armies. He resolved, therefore, to return southward, with his spoil and prisoners, to Tarentum, suspecting that Italy was not the country in which it would be easy for him to gather laurels. This suspicion was much strengthened by occurrences which immediately followed. The Romans sent to him a deputation of three senators, Dolabella and Æmilius, famous for the reduction of the Galli Senones[145], and Fabricius who had more recently in the defence of Thurii signalized his skill and valour against the

[145] Dionys. Halicarnass. Excerp. Legation.

CHAP. XII.

Samnites and Lucanians. Pyrrhus fondly hoped that they had come to treat of peace, but their only errand was the exchange of prisoners, particularly their captive knights, of whom 1800 had fallen into the enemy's hands in consequence of the disorder produced by his elephants among the Roman cavalry. Pyrrhus gratuitously released 200 of the number, and allowed the whole remainder to return to Rome on their parole that they might celebrate the Saturnalia. According to the Greek custom, he entertained the ambassadors at his table; and on this occasion, when Cineas, the king's minister and friend, was explaining the fashionable philosophy of Epicurus, "that the gods were neither delighted with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes," Fabricius exclaimed, "may such principles actuate Pyrrhus and his allies while they continue at variance with Rome!" The king had already acknowledged the worth of Fabricius, as a man whom he could neither scare by his elephants, nor corrupt by his gold: his simple word had been declared a certain pledge for the return of the Roman prisoners; and when they actually returned, Pyrrhus, in admiration of proceedings so unlike to what he had been accustomed to meet with in the wars of the East, sent Cineas to the senate with offers of peace and the restoration of all prisoners unransomed, on condition that Magna Græcia should be left unmolested, and that, for its future security, the Romans should evacuate their strong-holds in the neighbouring districts of Samnium, Lu-

cania, and Apulia. At the instigation of Appius Claudius Cæcus, so named from his blindness, the senate not only rejected the proffered terms, but determined not to receive any new proposal from Pyrrhus, while he remained in Italy with an army.[146] CHAP. XII.

Obstinate and undecisive battle of Asculum in Apulia. U. C. 475. B. C. 279.

In consequence of this transaction towards the end of winter, the king invaded Apulia early in the spring: he gained some towns by assault, and others by capitulation. But his success terminated on the arrival of the consuls Sulpicius and Decius, the latter of whom was son and grandson to the two Decii, who had successively devoted themselves to voluntary death in the service of their country; events of which both Pyrrhus and his soldiers were apprised. As that prince, however, had kept up a communication by sea with Epirus, and the Lucanians and Samnites had by this time joined his standard, the strength which he now mustered was fitted to inspire confidence. It exceeded forty thousand men. The Romans led against him two consular armies, each consisting, as usual, of two legions, with a due proportion of auxiliaries; so that their force fell short by about one-fourth of that of the enemy. To resist his elephants, the Romans accoutred their strongest horses in plates of iron, and yoked them in chariots blazing with fire-brands, and bristling with iron forks. It appears not, however, that this contrivance was made available in action. The battle was fought at Asculum

[146] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP. XII.

in Apulia, and the field so obstinately disputed, that it is said to have been covered with fifteen thousand slain on either side, when the approach of night left the victory still doubtful. The phalanx remained impenetrable, until a detachment being sent by Pyrrhus against the Apulians who had broken into his camp, weakened and discouraged the Epirots, and thus producing a fluctuation in their line, gave admission, in various parts, to the Roman swordsmen. The consul Decius had fallen in the beginning of the engagement, and near the close of it, Pyrrhus was severely wounded with a pilum. Next day, though both parties claimed the superiority, yet both thought fit to retreat; Pyrrhus, to Tarentum; the Romans, to the friendly strong-holds in Apulia. The dreadful carnage on both sides is attested indeed by the long inactivity which followed it: and Pyrrhus, when congratulated on his victory, said frankly, "Another such, and we are undone." During the remainder of the campaign, he showed no inclination to risk a second general engagement; and when the new consuls Fabricius and Æmilius entered the field against him in the spring, an event happened which made him more desirous than ever of accommodating his differences with the Romans. [147]

Treachery of Pyrrhus's physician discovered to him by Fabricius.

The king's physician, with equal levity and baseness, sent a letter to Fabricius, offering for a due reward to poison his royal master. Fabricius immediately transmitted this letter to

[146] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

CHAP XII.

Pyrrhus, accompanied with another from himself to the following purport. "You make an unhappy choice of your friends and of your enemies, as the writing herewith sent will afford proof. Your hostilities are directed against honest men, while you repose confidence in knaves. This communication is not made through regard to your safety, but lest the Romans, in the event of your destruction, should be suspected of procuring it through means unworthy of them." Pyrrhus exclaimed, that in this letter he recognised the soul of Fabricius, a man not to be diverted from the path of rectitude, any more than the sun from his course.[148] He immediately dispatched Cineas to Rome with rich presents, and the release of all prisoners. The Romans, both in their individual and collective capacity[149], rejected his presents, and claiming no remuneration for an act of mere justice, they sent back an equal number of prisoners in exchange, but firmly maintained their first resolution of not hearkening to any terms of accommodation, until the king should withdraw from Italy.

Pyrrhus sails to assist the Greeks in Sicily against the Carthaginians and Mamertines. U. C. 475. B. C. 279.

To this resolution Pyrrhus was shortly afterwards determined by the magnanimity of the Romans, his own inconstancy, and an emergency altogether independent on these causes, but which strongly co-operated with them. This was an invitation from the Greeks in Sicily, who saw no other resource but the arms

[148] Plutarch in Pyrrho. [149] Valerius Maxim. l. iv. c. 3.

CHAP. XII.

of Pyrrhus, whose marriage with the daughter of Agathocles gave him a strong interest in their island, against the usurpations of the Carthaginians on one side, and the rapacity of the Mamertines on the other. The Carthaginians had not been inattentive to his Italian warfare; for Magna Græcia had long been the main object of their jealousy. Accordingly they heartily wished success to Rome, in the defensive war which she waged with Pyrrhus, and had even made offers of sending a fleet to her assistance, if that should be deemed necessary.[150] With such apprehensions, we must advert to that instability above noticed in their councils, to explain the extreme remissness with which they guarded the straits of Messina; for Pyrrhus, upon the pressing solicitations sent to him from Sicily, having left a garrison in Tarentum, immediately embarked for that island, touched at Tauromenium, landed at Catana, and uninterrupted by the Carthaginians, marched with an increasing army towards Syracuse. Thurion and Sosistratus, who held a divided sovereignty in that city, entrusted to his command its whole military and naval force. He was joined by Tyndarion, the general of Tauromenium; Agrigentum expelled its Carthaginian garrison; the insurrection in his favour was universal throughout the island; and Pyrrhus saw at his disposal upwards of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a fleet of two

His great successes in that island.

[150] Diodor. Eclog. xxii.

hundred galleys, which were speedily employed by him with an activity and effect worthy of his ambition. The Carthaginians were driven to the western corner of the island distinguished by the promontory Lilybæum, after they had lost Panormus on the northern, and Selinus on the southern shore. At the other extremity of Sicily, near the promontory Pylorus, Pyrrhus's detachments had proved equally successful against the Mamertines of Messené. The hostilities of these banditti had been repressed, their rapacious collectors had been made prisoners, they had been beat from their strongholds in the country, and were cooped up within the walls of their capital. Lilybæum and Messené, at the mutually remotest points of Sicily, were the only places that held out against the arms of the invader. [151]

His impatience in the siege of Lilybæum and rash proceedings thereon. U. C. 478. B. C. 276.

In Lilybæum, the Carthaginians resisted with unabating vigour; and being still masters of the neighbouring sea, continually multiplied the means of defence by new supplies of men and provisions, of arms and military engines. Pyrrhus besieged the place for two months, and in prodigies of valour, aspired to rival his ancestor Achilles. But his soul, equally impatient, was not proof against the irritations of delay; his temper was completely overset; he thirsted for speedier vengeance, and the example of Agathocles had taught him that the enemy was most vulnerable in Carthage. His resolution to invade

[151] Diodorus and Plutarch.

CHAP. XII.

Africa was followed by most obnoxious measures for carrying the design into execution. In the pressing of sailors for his fleet, his agents were guilty of such cruelties, as inflamed the hasty temper of the Sicilians into mutiny. The punishment of their ringleaders only exasperated their fury, and the exertions of this fury were repressed by new acts of tyranny. Those of Pyrrhus's advisers, who exhorted him to persevere in coercion, were alone in credit with him; and all who would have persuaded him seasonably to relax his rigour, not excepting those by whom he had been invited into the island, and by whom chiefly his authority in it had been established, were heard with disgust, treated with suspicion, and many of them punished as traitors. In consequence of such proceedings, his standard was abandoned by the islanders [151]; and a new armament from Carthage, threatened to overwhelm the puny force of his devoted Epirots.

His return to Italy.—State of the war in that country. U. C. 478. B. C. 276.

In this distressful perplexity, the natural result of his own headstrong folly, Pyrrhus was glad to escape from Sicily, as from a vessel tempest-tost and unmanageable, and to seek rather honourable than safe refuge in his renewed war with the Romans. That people, though afflicted with a malady, which under the name of pestilence had raged above twenty times at Rome since the foundation of the city, had, during Pyrrhus's absence in Sicily, gained successive victories over the Lucanians and Samnites, and

[151] Plutarch in Pyrrho.

made themselves masters of the Greek cities, Locri, Heraclæa, and Crotona; the last of which was surrounded by strong walls twelve miles in circuit. Their armies had undertaken a new invasion of Lucania and Samnium, when Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, after being pursued at sea by the Carthaginians, and followed at land by the Mamertines, the latter of whom, having crossed the Frith, much molested his march. But notwithstanding these afflicting circumstances, he found to his joy, that the yet independent Greek cities, reinforced by all the surrounding Barbarians, the Brutii, Salentines, Lucanians, Messapians, and Samnites, had combined towards one vigorous exertion for resisting the domination of Rome. Of the forces collected from so many nations, the smaller division marched into Lucania, to keep in check the consul Cornelius Lentulus, who had entered that district; while Pyrrhus at the head of eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, proceeded to offer battle to his colleague Curius Dentatus in Samnium. CHAP. XII.

The Romans had encamped on a rough and woody spot, near a city then called Maleventum, learning from experience that such ground was most unfavourable to the phalanx. They had also provided themselves with ignited weapons of an improved construction, which were successfully employed against the enemy's elephants.[152] These precautions, but far more their prowess in action, were rewarded with a memo- Decisive battle of Maleventum in Samnium. U. C. 479. B. C. 275.

[152] Orosius, l. iv. c. 2.

CHAP. XII.

rable and decisive victory. About thirty thousand of the enemy were counted among the slain, while the prisoners amounted to only thirteen hundred, for the consul Curius determined, by the greatness of the carnage, to break at once the force of so formidable a confederacy.[153]

Pyrrhus's return to Greece, and subsequent fortunes.

The battle of Beneventum, for thus, by a grateful change, the place was thenceforth named, proved completely decisive; and determined Pyrrhus to cross the Ionian sea with all convenient expedition. To cover his shame, he amused the allies who had unhappily confided in him, with a promise of speedy and more effectual aid; and even condescended to the meanness of reading to them many counterfeit letters of recall, which he pretended to have received from his own and the neighbouring kingdoms.[154] Having then left Milo, one of his officers, to guard the citadel of Tarentum, he passed into Epirus, carrying with him only eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. By singular good fortune, he regained, for a moment, possession of Macedon; but lost that kingdom, his son Ptolemy, and his own life, by an unseasonable invasion of Peloponnesus. He fell combating in the streets of Argos, not by the hand of any rival champion, but through the anxious fears of a mother, who at sight of the danger of her only son, precipitated a tile from a house-top on the head of his assailant. Thus perished Pyrrhus, in death, as well as in his whole life,

[153] Plutarch in Pyrrho. [154] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. 6.

the sport of contingencies; a great warrior[155] who gained only useless victories, an artful politician who formed only unsuccessful projects; a meteor which blazed fiercely for a time, leaving no traces behind it, since his bold sanguinary career terminated only in transmitting his little kingdom of Epirus, much exhausted in wealth and strength, to a prince named Alexander, born to him by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles. Besides this Alexander, Lanassa brought to her husband Nereis, married to Gelon of Syracuse, and involved, as we shall see presently, in the disasters which ruined the family of that prince. Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, was succeeded by a descendant named Ptolemy, in whose daughter Deidamia, the race of the Æacidæ became extinct; and Epirus was erected into a commonwealth, whose transactions, until it was reduced with peculiar circumstances of cruelty under the Roman yoke, will be embodied in a following part of this history.

The Romans reduce the Tarentines and their allies.

In less than two years after the repulse of Pyrrhus, the Romans completely reduced his allies, the Lucanians, Samnites, and Tarentines. Upon his first arrival in Italy, the Carthaginians,

[155] Plutarch through his excessive predilection for Pyrrhus, is betrayed into a contradiction. In speaking of the famous conference between Scipio and Hannibal, at Ephesus, he says, that Hannibal pronounced Pyrrhus the *first* of all generals; Scipio the second; and himself the third. Plutarch in Pyrrho, p. 687. Edit. Xyland. But the same author, in speaking more expressly of what passed at the above-mentioned conference, makes Hannibal assign the first place to Alexander; the second to Pyrrhus; the third to himself. Plutarch. in Flamin. p. 381.

CHAP. XII.

U. C. 482. B. C. 272.

we have seen, had made offers of assistance to Rome: they now changed their policy in consequence of the Roman preponderancy, and endeavoured to save Tarentum from the grasp of the victorious commonwealth. That place was taken: and the squadron, which they had sent to defend it, sowed the seeds of the first Punic war which broke out eight years afterwards.

Punish the treacherous usurpers of Rhegium.

Rome at length enjoyed leisure to punish her infamous legion, which, being sent to the protection of Rhegium, had banished or butchered the citizens of that place, and appropriated their wives, children, and effects. During ten years' usurpation of Rhegium, these blood-stained villains had maintained an intimate correspondence with their fellow-assassins, the Mamertines of Messené. The two cut-throat communities, separated only by a narrow frith, mutually abetted each other's enormities; and, during Pyrrhus's wars in Italy, ravaged many parts, both of that country and of Sicily. The time was now come for destroying the one of those confederates in guilt, and thereby humbling the hopes of the other. Soon after taking Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Rhegium. The assassins made a furious resistance. Of four thousand, their original number, only three hundred were dragged in chains to Rome, and there scourged and beheaded.[156] Their leader, Decius Jubellius, is cited as an example of that sacred vengeance which usually pursues enormous

Vengeance that pursued Decius Jubellius.

[156] Polybius, l. i. c. 7. Appian, Zonaras.

wickedness. Having passed from Rhegium to Messené, and being seized there with a malady in his eyes, he applied to the most eminent surgeon of the place to which he had come, who happened to be a native of that from which he had removed. This surgeon administered to him an application, which totally destroyed his eyesight: and, having thus avenged the blood of his fellow-citizens, provided for his personal safety by a precipitate flight from Messené. The blind Jubellius had returned to Rhegium before the capture of that city; and only escaped the public execution which awaited him at Rome, by suicide in prison.[157] The Romans collected the remains of the dispersed Rhegians, and reinstated them in their possessions, their laws, and their liberties.[158] CHAP. XII.

Romans complete the conquest of Italy. U. C. 482—490. B. C. 272—264.

In the interval of eight years that elapsed from the taking of Tarentum to their war with the Carthaginians for Sicily, they completed the conquest of that part of the peninsula anciently comprehended under the name of Italy. Cornelius triumphed over the Sarsinates, the fiercest mountaineers in Umbria[159]: Sempronius subdued the more populous nation of the Picentes, extending from the mountains of Umbria to the coast of the Hadriatic. Their capital Asculum, with other strong-holds, were reduced to uncon-

[157] Diodor. Excerp. l. xxii. p. 562. et Appian de Rebus Samnit. l. ix. c. 3.

[158] Polybius, l. i. c. 7.

[159] Polyb. l. ii. c. 16. et Fasti Capitolin.

CHAP. XII.

ditional surrender[160]: and three hundred and sixty thousand men swore allegiance to the victors.[161] The Salentines, occupying the heel of Italy, next suffered the punishment due to allies of Pyrrhus.[162] They afforded an easy triumph to Regulus and Libo[163]; and yielded their convenient sea-port, Brundusium, which sent out and received fleets with the same wind, and was deemed incomparably the best harbour on the southern coasts of Italy.[164]

New coinage, new quæstors, and new colonies.

The opulence of Rome received great accession in the war with Magna Græcia. Instead of herds of cattle driven from the Sabines and Volsci, the empty cars of the Gauls, and the broken arms of the Samnites, Papirius Cursor exhibited in his triumph over Tarentum, innumerable carriages loaded with precious furniture; pictures, statues, vases, with a profusion of implements and ornaments of gold and silver.[165] The public prosperity was attested by the introduction of denarii and quinarii of silver[166], which received the name of money, because first coined in the temple of admonishing Juno, Juno Moneta.[167] As the important conquest of the Picentes, which we have just mentioned, nearly coincided in point of time with this new coinage, the most ancient denarii are stamped with the image of Picus, the reputed

[160] Eutropius, l. ii. et Liv. Epitom. l. xv.
[161] Plin. N. Hist. l. iii. c. 13.
[162] Tit. Liv. ibid. Florus, l. i. c. 20.
[163] Fast. Capitolin.
[164] Polybius, l. x. c. i. Ennius, Zonaras.
[165] Florus, l. i. c. 28.
[166] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.
[167] Suidas in Μονητα.

founder of the nation of the Picentes, supplicating the protection of a Roman magistrate.[168] But spoils, in the form of precious metals, were accompanied by still more important acquisitions. The conquered nations were stripped of one part of their lands to be divided among Roman citizens, and of another part to be cultivated as public domain at a stipulated rent. The Tarentines were subjected to a severe annual tribute: and the augmentation by these means accruing to the public revenues made it necessary to double the number of quæstors.[169] Two of these financial administrators had the care of the temple of Saturn, which served at Rome for a treasury: two attended the consuls in their military expeditions: the four remaining were distributed among four distinct departments in Italy: at Ostia in Latium, Cales in Campania, Sena in the country formerly belonging to the Galli Senones, and Tarentum in Magna Græcia.[170] The Romans with their usual prudence consolidated their conquests by colonies. Within the interval just mentioned, they planted Cosa and Poestum[171], the former in Tuscany, the latter on the coast of Lucania: and five years afterwards they colonised Ariminum in the territory of the Gauls, and Bene-

[168] The latter denarii are stamped with the figure of Rome, and with a biga or quadriga on the reverse. The quinarii, five asses, were called victoriati, from the figure of victory. The sestertii, $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses, are usually distinguished by the figures of Castor and Pollux.

[169] Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 22.

[170] Tit. Liv. Epitom. xvi. Conf. Pigh. Annal. ad an. 488. U.C.

[171] Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11. Conf. Liv. Epitom. l. xiv.

CHAP. XII.

ventum in that of the Samnites.[172] Their new possessions were thus firmly united with the old, under the various titles of colonies, municipia, allies, and subjects: and to enlarge the basis of a dominion projecting on every side, the ancient Sabines were now advanced to the complete dignity of Roman citizens; an equal right of suffrage, and an equal participation in all offices of authority. At the next census or lustrum, in the four hundred and ninetieth year of the city, the number of Romans capable of bearing arms amounted to two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four.[173] But populousness formed the least pre-eminent distinction of a people invigorated by exertion, disciplined by laws and manners, and to whom the best institutions both public and domestic, had, through custom, been rendered the most agreeable; above all, who, in their behaviour to friends and enemies invariably adhered to a practically accurate admeasurement of rewards and punishments, and thus pursued, for the attainment of empire, those natural and solid maxims which far surpass in efficacy all political refinements.

Census. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

State of Carthage at that period — her recent usurpations in Sicily.

In this flourishing condition of the commonwealth, the Carthaginians, who had unwarrantably offended her by interference in the defence of one part of Magna Græcia, soon provoked her jealousy by perpetual usurpations in the

[172] Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 11.

[173] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xvi. Eutropius, l. ii. c. 18.

other. The power of Carthage had been bent, not broken, by the invasion of Agathocles. During a peace of forty years which followed that event, an industrious and maritime people had full leisure to repair their losses, and once more to shine in all the brightness of naval and commercial prosperity. Masters of a vast domain in Africa, of many important settlements in Spain, of Sardinia, and other inferior islands in the Tuscan sea, they had been continually grasping one city in Sicily after another, until the turbulent republic of Syracuse, almost alone independent, was now compressed on one side by the subjects of Carthage, and on the other by the fierce Mamertines of Messené. CHAP. XII.

The rapacity of these usurpers had received a check by the destruction of their confederates in Rhegium. But other events, at first sight highly unpromising to them, had tended to increase their courage. The mercenaries belonging to Syracuse, being, as often happened, at variance with the magistrates, appointed generals by their own authority, among whom was young Hieron [174], who had been recommended to their choice by his popular manners, his conspicuous valour, and his descent from the generous and high-minded Gelon, the brightest gem in the long series of ancient Syracusan kings. Through the bold exertions of the mercenaries, and his own address in gaining a party among the citizens, Hieron made himself Hieron II. king of Syracuse. U. C. 485. B. C. 269.

[174] Polybius, l. i. c. 8. et. seq. Conf. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

CHAP. XII.

master of the obnoxious magistrates and their capital: but used his advantage with such mildness and magnanimity, that his praises were sounded as loudly by those whom he had conquered, as by the admiring companions of his victory. Hieron, with universal consent, was named general against the Mamertines, who were carrying on, as in every autumn, their predatory incursions. He led forth part of the citizens in arms, together with the whole body of the mercenaries; but knowing the fickleness and levity of his countrymen, and how easily they were moved to severity against absent generals, he entered before his expedition into a bond of amity with Leptines, a man in high credit with the multitude, and cemented his union with that powerful citizen, by taking his daughter in marriage. Having thus provided a fit coadjutor in policy, his next care was to rid himself by war of those turbulent hirelings, who had been the ready instruments of his elevation, but whose capricious inconstancy might as suddenly precipitate him from power. To this end he dexterously exposed them to the Mamertines, by whom the greater part of them were destroyed: while the well-affected portion of his army was led home in safety. Elated by their victory over the mercenaries, the Mamertines renewed their devastations, and carried them on as incautiously as fiercely. Hieron meanwhile had been collecting recruits; these he carefully disciplined, and thereby animated the old soldiers with a near prospect of revenge. In a short time he took

the field with an army, confident in its own strength, and the abilities of its general; and having surprised and defeated the enemy at the river Longanus, which washes the beautiful Mylæan plain, he pursued them homeward with great slaughter, and made captive their leaders. This glorious exploit raised Hieron to the throne of Syracuse: while the Mamertines retired within their walls, and instead of any longer sending forth their ravenous banditti, to infest the neighbouring territories, trembled for the safety of their own guilty strong-hold. CHAP. XII.

The Mamertines in fear of Hieron — apply to the Romans and Carthaginians.

Amidst the divided councils incident to misfortune, one part of them applied to the Carthaginians, and another to the Romans. Among the latter people, the senate enjoyed the prerogative of discussing in the first instance all matters of foreign policy. The conquest of southern Italy had brought, they acknowledged, the victorious arms of their country to the shores of Sicily; but, however tempting the occasion, they declined to interpose in favour of the infamous Mamertines, whose demerit surpassed that of the recently and most justly punished Rhegians, since the latter had been imitators, but the former were originals and models, in perpetrating the most execrable villany. The popular assembly was far less scrupulous. Its leaders represented the critical situation in which the safety of Rome must be placed, should Carthage, already possessed of nearly all Sicily, and whose dominion was gradually encompassing and threatening their own, gain possession of

CHAP. XII.

Messené, which by its commodious situation on the straits, seemed to rise like a bridge for passing conveniently into Italy. This was the argument on which they thought fit chiefly to dwell; but as they hoped to enrich themselves as generals in the expedition, so they failed not to point out to the avidity of the soldiers, that the insular part of Magna Græcia surpassed the continental in opulence.[175]

The possession of Messené disputed by these powers.—Victories of Appius Claudius. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

While the Romans deliberated, the Carthaginians were in arms. They entered Messené, and placed a garrison in its citadel. Upon learning that event, the Roman comitia, or general assembly of the nation, without waiting for the authority of the senate, sent the consul Appius Claudius to the straits. His arrival there occasioned great commotions in Messené. The Mamertines, being most of them Italians, were less fearful of Rome than of Carthage; and when they understood that a Roman consul had advanced to their neighbourhood, they flew to arms, overpowered the abettors of the Carthaginians, and urged the consul Appius to use the utmost diligence in coming to them and seconding their boldness. Before he could pass the straits in transports with which he was furnished by the dependent Greek cities on the Italian shore, Messené was invested on one side by the resentment of the Carthaginians, and on another by the policy of Hieron, who deemed this a fit opportunity for rooting out of Sicily a com-

[175] Polybius, l. i. c. 8.

monwealth of robbers and assassins, long the opprobrium of that island. But Appius with great resolution threw himself into Messené in the night time.[176] When apprised of the strength and animosity of the besiegers, he made offers to them of an accommodation, on condition that the Mamertines should be included in it. His proposals were rejected both by Hieron and by the Carthaginians. Appius fought with them separately, and successively defeated them.

The first Punic war. U. C. 490. B. C. 264.

With this double victory commenced the first Punic war, which lasted with little intermission for twenty-four years, and in which, though Sicily was its principal scene as well as its primary object, the actions of the native islanders make but a small figure in history. Their cities, many of them rich and populous, were deformed or ruined by the invading rivals, as their arms alternately prevailed. In the sack of Agrigentum, the Romans in one day, sold twenty-five thousand citizens for slaves. Shortly afterwards that magnificent city, second only to Syracuse, was nearly depopulated and demolished by the Carthaginians.[177] The inland country for the most part submitted to the legions, while the fleets of Carthage domineered over the sea-coast. But to this general result Syracuse, a maritime city, formed an important exception. Its king Hieron, whose good policy continued conspicuous through a reign of fifty years, had

Hieron unites himself with the Romans.

[176] Polybius, l. i, c. 8. Conf. Frontin. Stratagem. l. iv.

[177] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xvi, c. 58. l. xviii. c. 38.

CHAP. XII.

the sagacity, in his first intercourse with the Romans, to discern the incomparable superiority of their character; and having made atonement to them for his ill-advised opposition to a consular army, he craved and obtained their friendship, and continued thenceforth to be numbered with the most zealous, and most strenuous of their allies.

How far that people were then acquainted with naval affairs.

But even with his maritime assistance, the Romans, who now first carried armies beyond seas, laboured under great inconveniences in contending with a people, who had long commanded all the western shores of the Mediterranean. They were not indeed, as is generally reported by historians, too prone to the marvellous, altogether unacquainted with sea-affairs. As early as the reign of Ancus Martius, their fourth king, they had built the convenient harbour of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber: and in the first year of the republic, they counted among their maritime allies or subjects, the cities of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Anxur or Terracina. In that memorable year, the first consuls, Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, obtained a treaty of commerce with Carthage, already approaching, as we have explained above, through the destruction of the first and far greater Tyre, to the zenith of its extensive maritime dominion. In this instrument, which has fortunately come down to us [178], the Carthaginians granted to the Romans a free trade to

Their ancient treaties with Carthage. U. C. 245—448. B. C. 509—306.

Nature and limitations of the trade

[178] Polybius, l. iii. c. 22—25.

Sicily; they granted to them also the privilege of buying and selling in Sardinia and Africa, without paying other imposts than certain stipulated fees, to the criers and public clerks of the markets; but they forbade the Roman merchantmen to pass beyond the fair promontory, now Cape Bon, towering on the north of Carthage, and shutting up, as with a strong bulwark, the valuable unwalled towns in Byzatium or Emporia. The Carthaginians, on their part, agreed not to erect any fortress in Latium; and, if carried to that coast in pursuit of an enemy, promised to use their best endeavours not to pass a single night in the country. The spirit of these articles accords well with the circumstances of the contracting parties. The Carthaginians from a commercial jealousy, as well as from fears of a political nature [179], were unwilling that the Romans should trade directly with Byzatium; they totally debarred them, therefore, from that part of the African coast, and in case they were driven thither by stress of weather, commanded them to carry nothing from thence, except what was essentially requisite for refitting their vessels, or performing indispensable sacrifices. With regard to Carthage itself, and all the western parts of Africa, as well as the island of Sardinia, the Roman traders were placed, in some measure, under the controul of criers and clerks, appointed by the magistrates of Carthage; their transactions were

CHAP. XII. between the two nations.

[179] To prevent revolt among their dependencies. See above, p. 180.

CHAP. XII.

to be public, and the public faith was thereby pledged for the exact fulfilment of all bargains. As to Sicily, on the other hand, the Romans were indulged in the most perfect freedom. The Carthaginians, as yet, possessed scarcely a third part of Sicily. The Greeks, chiefly, were masters of all the rest: and the Romans, if fettered by commercial restrictions in one part of the island, would naturally have directed their attention to another. What were the commodities which Carthage at this time exported, we had formerly an occasion to explain. The exports of the Romans, it is not difficult to conjecture. Africa, indeed, abounded in corn, but different kinds of grain should seem to have been early cultivated in Italy, which were little known on the southern coast of the Mediterranean.[179] Linen and leather, wool, oil and wine, formed certainly very important articles: above all, slaves taken in war, which a republic in Africa was in that age as eager in purchasing from the coasts of Europe, as the Europeans have in later times been busy in prosecuting the same commerce on the coasts of Africa. Besides all this, the Romans from the age of Numa, cultivated, as we have seen[180], many ingenious arts, and carried on many useful manufactures whose productions might be in request among the Carthaginians or the nations with which they traded.

Principal articles of their traffic.

[179] Varro de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 8. [180] See above, p. 363.

CHAP. XII.

Wonderful exertions of the Romans in constructing and equipping war galleys. U. C. 493. B. C. 261.

This memorable treaty, contracted with the Carthaginians in the 245th year of the city, had been renewed and modified three several times, that is, in the years 406, 448, and 473 of the same æra: so that the Romans were not altogether inattentive to commercial concerns, though matters of war and government form the exclusive theme of their historians. Neither were they strangers to sea affairs, nor unexperienced in the construction of round, flat, heavy-sailing merchantmen; but they had not as yet built galleys, and were altogether unpractised in naval warfare. When they carried their arms beyond Italy, it became necessary to equip a fleet, and they did so with an alacrity and perseverance which surpasses every thing most admirable in their history.[181] Fortune, at the commencement, seconded their views. About the time that Appius passed the Straits into Sicily, a Carthaginian quinquereme, sailing too near to the land, was stranded on the coast of Rhegium: and being boarded by some Roman soldiers, was carried as a prize into that harbour. Quinqueremes, or vessels with five tier of oars, had been discovered, as we have before seen, amidst the naval engagements of Alexander's successors, to be the most serviceable rate of war-ships; and their use, very generally substituted to that of trireme galleys, with which alone, the Athenians had raised their immortal trophies over the Persians. The captured Car-

[181] Polybius, l. i. c. 60—61.

CHAP. XII.

thaginian quinquereme served the Romans for a model; and, within the space of sixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they built a hundred such vessels; commonly manned by 300 sailors and 200 marines. While the ship-carpenters performed their assigned tasks, the future rowers were furnished with heavy oars, and, being seated on benches, were daily exercised[182] in the use of them. In this manner they were accustomed to handle these implements with vigour and dexterity, and to obey with quickness and precision the signals of their officers.

Duillius's naval victory.—The corvi. U. C. 494. B. C. 260.

With a fleet thus formed on land, Cornelius put to sea, and was defeated. But his successor, Duillius, obtained a signal victory chiefly through his address in converting the naval engagement into a pitched battle. This was effected by grappling machines, called corvi, in allusion to the beaks of crows. For working the corvi, Duillius erected strong pillars on the prows of his galleys. These pillars were furnished with pullies at top, and surrounded with stages of stout timber, bordered with a parapet knee high. In action, the corvi, being thus raised aloof by pullies, might be turned to any direction, so that on whatever side an enemy's vessel approached, it would be infallibly made fast by them. When the ships thus lay alongside of each other, the Romans enjoyed the advantage of boarding in full line; but when they could only bring their

[182] Polybius, l. i. c. 21.

own prows to touch the middle, or either extremity, of the enemy's vessels, they then advanced cautiously in two files, the file-leaders extending their shields in front, and their respective followers resting the same arm of defence on the bordering parapets above mentioned, which completely defended them in flank.[183] In this manner they rushed on the enemy with their pointed, two-edged, massy, and well-tempered swords, incomparably the fittest of all instruments for such desperate service.

Maritime war. U. C. 498—512. B. C. 256—242.

When the decision of sea-fights was brought to this issue, and depended on a battle of men rather than of ships, the Romans uniformly prevailed; they were long as constantly unsuccessful, when the engagement chiefly depended on swiftness of sailing and dexterity of manœuvre. Notwithstanding this inferiority, they carried the war into Africa, where the first successes of Regulus rivalled those of Agathocles. But a body of Greek mercenaries arriving at Carthage under the Lacedæmonian Xantippus, the Romans, about 15,000 foot and 500 horse, were totally defeated, and their general made prisoner.[184] His story is well known. Being sent home on his parole to negociate an exchange of prisoners, he dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to that proposal, and returned to the cruel death that awaited him at Carthage.[185] In the course of the war, above 700 Roman quinqueremes were

[183] Polybius, l. i. c. 22. [184] Ibid. c. 24. et seq.
[185] Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, l. iii. Od. 5.

CHAP. XII.

destroyed. Their losses were great in action, and still greater in storms on the coasts both of Sicily and Africa.[186] But their spirit in resisting these misfortunes, their indefatigable perseverance and unextinguishable patriotism afford one of the noblest spectacles in history. On one occasion the engaging squadrons amounted collectively to 500, and on another to 700, quinqueremes; the former containing 210,000, and the latter 294,000 combatants.[187] At length the consul Lutatius Catulus gained a decisive victory at the Ægades isles, off the western coast of Sicily; sunk 125 Carthaginian quinqueremes, and captured 73 with upwards of 30,000 men on board[188]: for the Romans had now attained an equality in seamanship, and by wonderful and most unwearied diligence had brought their vessels to cope with and surpass those of the enemy in all the celerity and variety of their most alert and most complicated movements.

The consul Catulus's decisive victory off the Ægades. U. C. 512. B. C. 242.

During the siege of Lilybæum, which lasted ten years, and terminated only with the war itself, the Carthaginians felt the utmost anxiety to know the fate of a city, which, on account of its situation, its fidelity, and its power, they regarded as an essential outpost to their empire. But none of their boldest captains would venture through intricate shallows, which lay between two Roman squadrons that blocked up its harbour. At length, Hannibal, a noble Cartha-

Incidents during the siege of Lilybæum. U. C. 502—512. B. C. 252—242.

[186] Conf Polyb. l. i. c. 37. 39. 54.

[187] Polybius, l. i. c. 25. et seq. & 49. et seq. [188] Ibid. c. 61.

ginian, but named the Rhodian for his intimate connection with that naval island, in a vessel built on a new model and at his private expence, darted into the desired port in sight of the whole Roman fleet.[188] Provoked at this audacity, the Romans, to intercept his return, prepared ten of their swiftest vessels, and stationed them as near to the harbour's mouth as the shallows would permit; with orders to keep their oars suspended in the air, ready to be plied on the first signal. The Rhodian at length made his appearance, and, before the enemy could bear down on him, escaped from the harbour in safety; then insulting and mortifying the Romans still further by lying on his oars by way of bravado in the midst of obstacles and dangers which they themselves feared to approach. The success of Hannibal the Rhodian encouraged other Carthaginian captains. They built vessels of a similar construction, and by their means kept up a useful intercourse with the besieged city. But one of these vessels having unfortunately struck on the fragment of an ancient mole, fell into the hands of the Romans, and served them for a model in building ships of their own, fitted to cope with and finally to capture all those of the enemy employed in this dangerous service.[190] Thus did they wrest from the Carthaginians the command of the sea, by instruments which, though they wanted ingenuity to invent, they had however the

[188] Polybius, l. i. c. 46. [190] Ibid. c. 47. et seq.

CHAP. XII.

industry to improve, and the boldness and perseverance victoriously to employ.

Hamilcar Barcas.—His indignation amidst the humiliating terms of peace imposed on his country. U. C. 511. B. C. 242.

In the last stages of the war, there was not any Roman general that surpassed in abilities and enterprise Hamilcar Barcas. This man was the father of the great Hannibal, and of four other sons, whom he afterwards boasted of rearing, "as so many lion's whelps against the Romans." When the decisive sea-fight near the Ægades isles compelled the Carthaginians to treat of peace, he refused to surrender the city Eryx, in which he commanded, on any but the most honourable conditions. Articles, however, were soon adjusted, by which the Carthaginians not only relinquished all their possessions in Sicily, and its small satellite isles, but consented to pay down 1000, and to raise a contribution of 2200 talents, in the course of ten years. Such was the issue of the first Punic war, which gave to the Romans ships and seamen, and enabled them, as we shall see, only a dozen years afterwards, to carry great armaments across the Hadriatic. This advantage, which opened to them a vast career of conquest in the Macedonian empire, was not on their side cheaply purchased. In the twelfth year of the war, they mustered 297,797 citizens: at their following census the number was found to be reduced to 251,222.[191]

Division of Sicily between the Ro-

The first Punic war involved the fate of what was regarded as the most important division of Magna Græcia.[192] Many Greek cities in Sicily,

[191] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xix. [192] Strabo, l. vi. p. 253. & 273.

CHAP. XII.

which had flourished in arts and arms, were reduced with the far greater part of the island, into the form of a province; and thus subjected to tribute and port-duties; and the stern jurisdiction of a pretor, sent annually from Rome with an army.[193] From this humiliating dependence, the dominions alone of king Hieron were exempted. His zealous co-operation with the Romans procured for him, not the bare title, but all the substantial advantages of an equal and honourable ally.[194] These advantages he improved with incomparable abilities in his subsequent reign of twenty-seven years, during which Syracuse, confined to a territory extending scarcely fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, enjoyed unvarying prosperity at home, and a degree of credit abroad, surpassing that of many great contemporary kingdoms.

mans and king Hieron.

[193] Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. De Jurisdict. Sicil. Orat. vii. Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xix. c. 64.

[194] Id. l. xix. c. 33.

CHAP. XIII.

Third Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes against Seleucus Callinicus. — Civil Wars between the Syrian Brothers. — Respected Neutrality of Aradus. — Seleucus made Captive in Parthia. — Reigns of Demetrius II. *of Macedon and Antigonus Doson. — Progress of the Achæan League. — Agis and Cleomenes. — The Cleomenic War. — Battle of Sellasia. — Ethiopian Expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes. — His Transactions with the Jews. — Accession of Ptolemy Philopater. — His Profligacy and Cruelty. — The Colossus of Rhodes demolished by an Earthquake. — Liberality of the commercial Connections of that State.*

CHAP. XIII.

Third generation of Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 246 —221.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love of peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the contemporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprise, and inconsiderate policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic

CHAP. XIII.

discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. In the western division of the empire, there was not greater tranquillity. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Doson. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their natural activity, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the peculiar and very different principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotism; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Doson. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expence of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknow-

CHAP. XIII.

ledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this interesting theme, it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above-mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Euergetes's expedition against Syria. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3, 4. B.C. 246, 245.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably; but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodicé, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenicé, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart[1] of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful army, which he inherited, would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose parricidal usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal portion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenicé and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphné, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution.[2] But the fury of Laodicé having precipitated the destruction of Berenicé her own rival, and that of the son of Berenicé, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks, expecting

[1] Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

[2] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus, transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax.[3] In this distracted state of Seleucus's affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, regarded, from its vicinity, as the harbour of Antioch. We are not informed by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodicé fell into the victor's hands, and died with deserved ignominy.[4]

Euergetes expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. cxxxiii. 4. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 245, 244.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its centre, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he over-ran a vast extent of territory, pursuing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus.[5] His plunder

[3] The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi, p. 754., and Plutarch in Aristid. contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which, he says, no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

[4] Appian, Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

[5] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Bere-

CHAP. XIII.

was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver[6]; but what appeared far more valuable to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn by Cambyses from their venerated shrines. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals[7] of Susiana, communicating with the Euphrates, conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, a title which would have been ill-deserved by distant and precarious conquests. The new

Why honoured with the title of Euergetes.

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nicé, the daughter of Magas and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus,

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hymenæis,
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11 & 12.

The queen's votive offering for the safe return of her husband, having disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the Lion hitherto little noticed, which, he said, were Berenicé's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in Historiarum Synagoga. Hygini. Poetic. Astronomic.

[6] Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

[7] The Adulitic inscription ends abrubtly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

provinces, over which he appointed[8] governors, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple.[9]

CHAP. XIII.

The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B.C. 244.

During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the remaining loyalty of his subjects, and still more by his treasures, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to re-establish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded, on the contrary, to his advantage. The Greeks, considering[10] the storm as a judgment inflicted by heaven, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connection with the Gauls, was preparing to ex-

[8] Hieronym. in Daniel. [9] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5.
[10] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente veluti Diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

tend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians. [11]

His negociations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strong-holds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negociated a peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column, these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract. [12]

Suspension of hostilities between Ptolemy and Seleucus, and war of the latter against Antiochus Hierax.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus. [13] The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfi-

[11] Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.
[12] Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. et seq. [13] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

CHAP. XIII.

dious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated, seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the rancour of fraternal discord.[14] Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded[15]: and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries.[16] But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate exclusively the fruits of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by

Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 243—240.

Battle of Ancyra, and danger of Antiochus from his Gallic auxiliaries. Olymp. cxxxiv. 3. B. C. 242.

Their insolence and chastisement.

[14] "Dire is the war of brothers."

[15] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

[16] Polyænus, l. viii. c. 61. & Plutarch de Fratern. Amore.

CHAP. XIII.

Eumenes of Pergamus [17]; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia. [18] The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia-Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were routed and dispersed by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews. [19] On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the title of Callinicus [20], while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtezan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers. [21]

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B.C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury

[17] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445.

[18] Pausanias, l. x. c. 15. [19] 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

[20] "Illustrious conqueror." He was surnamed also Pogon from his bushy beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

[21] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

the war between the brothers.

in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils.[22] The fame of Tyre and Sidon had hitherto eclipsed that of Aradus, a city, standing on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness[23] with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome.[24] Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well-contrived conduit, into boats

[22] Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 41.
[23] Strabo, l. xviii. p. 753.
[24] Id. p. 757.

CHAP. XIII.

prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the hardy islanders aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with its magistrates, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies.[25] As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island was signalised by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community.[26]

Seleucus's war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239—235.

Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. There still remained the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and

[25] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744. [26] Id. ibid.

threatened to invade Media[27], the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from other enemies, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced; and the war by different inroads[28] protracted during four years, until the royal invader was made captive after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians.[29]

CHAP. XIII.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces[30], the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten[31] years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.[32] Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator,) to the son of their captive

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235 —226.

[27] Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. & Appian Syriac. c. 65.

[28] Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

[29] To this battle, properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis, observant, l. xli. c. 4. The Parthian æra is contemporary with the 76th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

[30] Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

[31] His successor's reign is reckoned from the tenth year of the Parthian æra.

[32] Athenæus, ibid.

CHAP. XIII.

monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the person of his father. But this improbable tale[33] seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title; for the captive Seleucus, it should seem, was killed in Parthia by a fall from his horse[34] in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with his brother Hierax, who had remained thirteen years a prisoner, and under far more severe restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors,

The former of these princes left two sons,

[33] Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; Bayer denies the fact; but the report of Seleucus's escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus, who, even in Parthia, was treated as a king, αγομενος βασιλικως, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects. Among the Greek kings, the title of royalty might be divided without being impaired: it was enjoyed simultaneously by Antigonus and his son Demetrius, by Seleucus Nicator and his son Antiochus Soter.

[34] Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

CHAP. XIII.

Seleucus Keraunus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable [35]; and Antiochus "the Great," who would not seem altogether unworthy of this title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

Seleucus Keraunus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon in the reign of Ptolemy Keraunus, the cities Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining [36] cities of Achaia, successively followed the

The Achæan league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.—cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

[35] Polybius, Appian, & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicanor, two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian, Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.

[36] These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellené. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helicé had been destroyed by an

CHAP. XIII.

Government and laws.

example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill-gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four corner-stones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment as well as of interest, with the same hatred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures.[37] Twice every year, at the beginning of summer and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and, according to the same mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, entrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. Let

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earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown reason did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. i. c. 145.

[37] Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 38.

it be remembered, however, that this liberal policy embraced citizens only; those now called the lower classes, mechanics and menials, though protected by the laws and magistrates, yet, being mostly in the state of slavery, had no voice in making the former, or in electing the latter. For twenty-five years the Achæan government continued without change; after that time, Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command; and the nomination of one general only, became in future the unvarying rule. [38]

Civil liberty and national independence.

From this short description it appears that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of political independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council: no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league; but, when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

Aratus joins Sicyon to the league. Olymp. cxxxii. 3. B. C. 250.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country,

[38] Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

CHAP. XIII.

from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprise of Aratus, then only in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy.[39] Eight years afterwards, and when invested for the second time with the military command, Aratus gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that strong-hold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander.[40] The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, cheerfully joined the Achæan league; and thereby best remunerated the merit of Aratus, who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, and still eclipses that of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had

And Corinth. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. B. C. 243.

Peculiarities in his history.

[39] It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours those who had recently joined the league.

[40] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.

fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias's adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus, a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Soso, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven must have directed him to a place singularly secure, because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family ensured to him the protection of many hereditary friends. CHAP. XIII.

His education.

By these respectable friends, he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was immortal glory to excel[41]: and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter.

How he rescued Sicyon from tyranny.

But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain, had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and re-establishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode

[41] See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. 9.

CHAP. XIII.

of well harmonised policy.[42] Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of his expatriated fellow-citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicocles escaped indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well-fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the market-place, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy.[43]

He restores the emigrants to their inheritances without offending the actual possessors.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which riveted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow-citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants; some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore

[42] The metaphor of Plutarch: it presented itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat.

[43] Plut. in Arat.

have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired masterpieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose munificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums[44] of money, as enabled him at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

Reign of Demetrius II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxiv. 2. —cxxxvii. 1. B. C. 243 —232.

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who died shortly after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel[45], but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired as a subject. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who,

Picture of petty tyrants

[44] Plut. in Arat. The numbers are erroneous.

[45] See above, b. xi. p. 274.

CHAP. XIII.

whom he supported in Greece. Aristippus of Argos.

by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill-acquired, cruelly exercised, and anxiously held. Aristippus had a numerous body-guard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trap-door into a small upper chamber. Upon this trap-door his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning.[46] This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hold. Such is the life of tyrants among men who have ever relished the sweets of liberty, and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition.

Wars and troubles of Demetrius's reign.

The accession of Corinth to the Achæan league conspired, however, with other causes, to enfeeble his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians[47] in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatened and often invaded his northern frontiers: he carried on war against Alexander of Epirus,

[46] Plutarch in Arat. [47] Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.

CHAP. XIII.

son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus.[48] The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and fearful preparation.[49]

Various accessions to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxxxvi. 4. B. C. 233.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Træzené, and Hermioné, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lysiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league.[50]

Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon. Olymp. cxxxvii. 1.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Anti-

[48] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.
[49] Pausan. Attic.
[50] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.

CHAP. XIII. —cxxxix. 4. B. C. 232 —221.

gonus II., surnamed "Doson." This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm[51] on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, by the will of the Macedonians, in preference to his nephew, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus's character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short of his virtues; at home and abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies.[52] Yet this respectable prince (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful epithet, still adhering to his name, while contemporary sovereigns, greatly his inferiors, are dignified in history by high-sounding titles.[53] Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost

His uncommon merits.

[51] Plutarch in Coriolan.

[52] Polybius, Conf. l. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. et l. iv. c. 3—87.

[53] Τα αλαζονικα αυτων ονοματα, &c. Dio. Chrysostom. Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god." These names, however, seldom appear on medals, during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they degenerated in worth.

abilities to conciliate good-will among his barbarous northern neighbours.

Athens and Argos joined to the Achæan league.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandisement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she shone the proud empress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his injured fellow-citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were either incorporated with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general. [54]

[54] Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat.

CHAP. XIII.

State of Sparta from the death of Alexander to the reign of Cleomenes. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendency of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity; impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread.[55]

Leonidas and Agis. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Platæa; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis

[55] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws; in one word, to restore the discipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour.[56] The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities; but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis, instead of enjoying power with her husband, had preferred banishment with her father. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband[57]; thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased too dearly by the other's misery. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen tem-

CHAP. XIII.

Banishment and recal of Leonidas.

His daughter Chelonis.

Death of Agis.

[56] Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

[57] Plutarch. ibi

CHAP. XIII.

ple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with justice in the means of execution.

Olymp. cxxxiv. 4. B. C. 241.

His designs renewed by Cleomenes. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 235.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and actuated by an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that zealous patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home[56], and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler to mould at will the government of his country.

Encouraged by the Etolians to make war on Achaia. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225.

While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Etolians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametrically opposite to their own. The Etolians had

[56] Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.

CHAP. XIII.

first applied to Antigonus Doson, the successor of Demetrius, but found that wise prince unwilling to abet their schemes of injustice: they next addressed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to seize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, strictly allied with themselves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first successes of the Cleomenic war. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

Cleomenes listened to a counsel highly favourable to his views; and by an assault as successful as it was unexpected, seized Mantinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortress for annoying that city[59], which had remained for several years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the necessity of repelling the aggressions of Sparta, which they had once good hopes of incorporating with their own confederacy. Arcadia became the first, and long continued the principal, scene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnesus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambitious author.

Causes thereof—the military defects of Aratus, and the new arrangements of Sparta.

Its first stages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far superior to themselves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune against Achaia, much is to be ascribed to the personal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and disciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new spirit of enterprise which

[59] Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

CHAP. XIII.

he inspired into his countrymen, after he had rescued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long subject.[60] The military defects of Aratus are also to be taken into account; for, with all his great qualities, this illustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties.[61] Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that, whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus retained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him, of all men, most dread Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general.[62]

Aratus determines to apply

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedo-

[60] Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.

[61] Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato.

[62] Plutarch in Cleomen.

CHAP. XIII.

for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1 B. C. 224.

nians into Peleponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which, however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the revered ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained briefly the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece.[63] The drift of their discourse was to show, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to

[63] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48, et seq.

CHAP. XIII.

follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there, against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the fit moment to take the field.[64]

Consequences of that measure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised, that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king

[64] Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

CHAP. XIII.

of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Megalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at Hecatombæum, in the district of Dymé[65], one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assist-

[65] Polybius, l. ii. c. 51.

CHAP. XIII.

ance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies.[66] This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendency of Antigonus in any of those countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, which enabled this prince to prosecute his designs vigorously, and conquer many cities in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself: for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negociate in favour of Antigonus.[67] He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but, through their own distardly spirit, he was furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

[66] Polybius, l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.
[67] Id. l. ii. c. 52.

CHAP. XIII.

Antigonus enters Peloponnesus — his success. *Olymp.* cxxxix. 2. B. C. 225

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up intrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes's partisans.[68] The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong-holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its security to his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclam-

[68] Κλεομενισται, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53.

CHAP. XIII.

ation, general of the confederacy. As this was the autumnal meeting of the states, Antigonus took up his winter-quarters in the fertile[69] neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth. In the spring he again entered Arcadia. Some cities were surprised; others voluntarily surrendered: Tegea submitted after a long siege.[70]

Antigonus's moderation in victory.

Antigonus then advanced towards Laconia, the frontiers of which were watchfully guarded by Cleomenes. There happened several skirmishes on the borders of that country, but, before Antigonus could obtain his end of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he learned by his spies, that the garrison of Orchomenos in Arcadia had quitted its walls to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore hastily decamped, and, marching in full force against that place, gained it by the first assault. Mantinæa, the most beautiful city in Arcadia[71], was next besieged, and taken after a short resistance. The neighbouring republics of Heræa and Telphussa opened their gates at the first summons.[72] In this victorious campaign, Antigonus's behaviour is memorable for its mildness. In none of the places which he conquered, not even in Tegea, which had resisted obstinately

[69] The shore of the Corinthian gulph, from Corinth to Sicyon, is "the level surface of the finest piece of land in all Greece, and still cultivated like a garden." Clarke's Travels, part ii. p. 719.

[70] Polybius, l. ii. c. 54.

[71] And that from very early times,

Μαντινεαν ερατεινην. Homer in Catal. v. 111.

[72] Polyb. ibid.

and furiously, did he either enslave the inhabitants, or confiscate their property; cruelties allowable according to the laws of war then universally prevalent.

The treatment of Mantinæa an exception to Antigonus's mildness—reasons thereof.

Mantinæa indeed formed an exception; but the case of Mantinæa was peculiar.[73] It had entered into the Achæan league, revolted to Cleomenes, and after being recovered by Aratus, had been treated by him with the greatest lenity, and had received, at its own desire, an Achæan garrison of five hundred men[74] to protect it against the Spartans and Etolians. These events happened four years before Antigonus's invasion. In that interval, the Mantinæans a second time revolted to Cleomenes, then in the height of his prosperity, and the better to ingratiate themselves with that prince, had committed a deed of eternal infamy in murdering the Achæans whom they had invited into their city. This act was regarded by Antigonus as an execrable cruelty, since the laws of nations, barbarous as they were in that age, required that the Mantinæans, whatever motives they might themselves have for changing sides, should have sent back the Achæan garrison in safety. The conqueror therefore treated Mantinæa differently from other cities of Arcadia: he plundered the houses, and sold the inhabitants for slaves.[75]

[73] Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. et seq.

[74] Three hundred Achæans and two hundred mercenaries.

[75] Phylarchus, a contemporary historian, arraigned Antigonus's severe treatment of the Mantinæans, without explaining the just cause in which it originated. Phylarchus was an Athenian, living

CHAP. XIII.

Cleomenes surprises Megalopolis. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

At the end of autumn, Antigonus again proceeded to Ægium to congratulate with the Achæan council, and to deliberate with its members concerning the future conduct of the war. The success of the late campaign enabled him to dismiss without danger many Macedonians, who were desirous of passing the winter at home in the midst of their families and friends. His proceedings were carefully watched by Cleomenes, who though he had not ventured to take the field against him in Arcadia, and had contented himself with defending the Lacedæmonian frontier, anxiously looked for an opportunity of retrieving his losses in the former province by surprising Megalopolis, the city of Arcadia nearest to Sparta, and distinguished by uncommon zeal for the Achæan confederacy. Megalopolis had suffered so cruelly in the war, that its inhabitants were inadequate to the defence of their extensive walls. The victories of their allies had inspired them with an unwarrantable security. Ægium was distant from them by a journey of full three days, and from that place Antigonus had just sent a large portion of his army into Macedon. Under these circumstances, Cleomenes marched to Megalopolis in the night;

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in the court of Ptolemy Euergetes, and therefore both from the place of his birth, and that of his residence, naturally hostile to the Macedonians, and the fame of their king. His work was preferred to the more candid Memoirs of Aratus, by many Greeks who entertained the same prejudices. Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. Conf. Suid. ad voc. Athen. Deipn. & Dionys. Halicarn. de Colloc. Verb.

CHAP. XIII.

gained admission within the gates by means of some Messenian exiles, resident in the place, whom he had previously corrupted; seized all the most advantageous posts; and appeared at dawn in great force in the market-place.[76] Thus betrayed, surprised, and on the point of being totally destroyed, the Megalopolitans discovered not any disposition to surrender. They resisted so valiantly, they showed such determined resolution to brave every suffering, that Cleomenes gladly made way for them to escape from his far superior force. When most of them fled to Messené, the conqueror sent thither, offering the restoration of their city, on condition that they abandoned the Achæan league. His letters were not allowed to be read, and his messengers narrowly escaped death.[77] So steadily did this generous people adhere to their engagements, that rather than violate their plighted faith, they determined for ever to desert their houses, lands, temples, and country. Philopæmen, one of their wealthiest citizens, makes his first appearance in history as the chief promoter of this noble resolution. Cleomenes, at first opposed by universal consent, for not an individual in Megalopolis was base enough to join his party, and afterwards finding his favours disdained notwithstanding the completest victory, indulged his soldiers in the utmost licence

Generous despair of its inhabitants. — Philopæmen.

[76] Plutarch in Cleomen. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 55. et c. 6. et l. 5. c. 93.

[77] By lapidation, the usual mode of summary punishment. Polyb. ibid. c. 61.

CHAP. XIII.

of plunder. The more valuable effects of the magnanimous fugitives, among which their pictures and statues are thought worthy of particular mention, were collected into rude heaps and transported to Sparta. Whatever was too cumbrous to be removed, was destroyed on the spot. Cleomenes dismantled the fortifications, and commanded even the principal houses to be demolished, that a city, so hostile to his views, might never thenceforward be inhabited.[78]

Movements preparatory to the battle of Sellasia. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

The disasters, which speedily befel himself, defeated this ungenerous expectation. Antigonus had taken up his quarters at Argos for the remainder of winter. He purposed to begin the campaign in the spring, as soon as he should be joined by reinforcements from Macedon.[79] Cleomenes, who was apprised of this intention, entered the Argive territory earlier than Greek armies were accustomed to take the field. But neither the devastation of the country, nor the complaints of the Argives, nor the insulting airs of the enemy, could provoke Antigonus to venture a battle until he was powerfully reinforced, not only by Macedonians, but by Illyrians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; for his justice and good policy had given him allies in all the nations around him. When these succours arrived at Argos, the whole muster amounted to twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes by this time had moved towards Sparta, having failed, indeed, in his main

[78] Polybius, ibid.

[79] Id. l. ii. c. 65.

purpose of bringing Antigonus to action, but after obtaining, however, the double advantage of encouraging his troops by braving the enemy, and of enriching them by unresisted depredation. To revenge both the injury and affront, Antigonus entered Laconia, and proceeded towards the capital by the most convenient route. This led through Sellasia, a city twelve miles south of the Argive frontier, and about the same distance north of Sparta.

The scene of action described.

Before coming to Sellasia, he had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills, the river Œnus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Œnus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedæmonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills, and also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes with the Spartans had chosen Olympus for his post: his brother Eucleidas with the armed peasants occupied Eva: the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He

CHAP. XIII.

frequently alarmed them by shows of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length both kings impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

Battle of Sellasia. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of mount Eva, accompanied by three thousand Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass.[80] The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus's cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Œnus. It was not to advance against the enemy's horse, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was *their* summons to action, boldly marched up mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them. Upon this movement the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's

[80] Polybius, l. ii. c. 65. l. iv. c. 69, & l. 5. c. 91.

horse. The confusion occasioned by an onset, equally sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedæmonians, who, from the heights of Eva, might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them. The danger was perceived by Philopœmen. He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But, as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth. The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit, and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harassed the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas.[81] Philopœmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided. Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "why he had charged before orders." Alexander said, "the fault was not

CHAP. XIII.

Presence of mind and bravery of Philopœmen.

[81] Polybius, l. ii. c. 67.

CHAP. XIII.

his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "you behaved like a young man; that youth of Megalopolis acted the part of a great general."

The Lacedæmonians defeated — flight of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of bringing the contest to this issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus, who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line by the co-operation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with protended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements. Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.

He escapes to Egypt.

His army was ruined, the city was defenceless, a victorious enemy was at hand. He had but a short time for a deliberation, involving in it

the interests of his glory, of his family, and of his country. He had lost, indeed, his queen Agiatis, a woman alike qualified to soothe his present sufferings, as before to inflame his ambition. His mother Cratisiclea had carried his children hostages to Egypt; a condition required by his ally Ptolemy Euergetes. Thericion, the friend of Cleomenes, encouraged the unfortunate prince to accompany himself in a voluntary death. But Cleomenes answered, that this would be desertion more disgraceful than even his flight from battle. He had only leisure to exhort the inhabitants of Sparta, peaceably to admit Antigonus, whom it would be now vain to resist; assuring them that he still lived in hopes of serving his country. He then hastened with a few friends to the Lacedæmonian harbour of Gythium, thirty miles distant from Sparta: and having embarked there in one of those vessels by which he kept up his communication with Egypt, he sailed to that country to solicit from Ptolemy such succours in ships and money as might enable him at some favourable crisis to benefit the common cause. [82]

Antigonus's indulgence to Sparta, and his other conquests.

Antigonus, meanwhile, advanced to Sparta, and treated the inhabitants with singular generosity. [83] They were allowed to enjoy complete national independence, with leave to adjust, according to their own pleasure, the arrangements of their internal government. Having remained

[82] Plutarch in Cleomen.

[83] Polybius, l. v. c. 9. Conf. l. ix. c. 36.

CHAP. XIII.

three days in the place; he marched to Tegea in Arcadia, which met with equal indulgence; and from thence proceeded to Argos to behold the Nemean games, about to be celebrated in that neighbourhood. In this august solemnity, at which all the nations of Greece were invited to assist, Antigonus himself was the noblest spectacle.[84] He was hailed as the pacificator of the countries on both sides the Isthmus, having restrained by the mere terror of his arms the rapacious Etolians, and chastised justly, yet mercifully, the ambitious Spartans. The Achæan confederacy in general, as well as each state in particular, were unwearied in his praise, and zealous to distinguish him by those signal honours, which public admiration confers on illustrious merit.

Reception at the Nemean games. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

From this flattering scene, such is the vanity of human greatness, Antigonus was speedily withdrawn by news of an Illyrian invasion into Macedon. He flew to the defence of his desolated fields, and flaming villages: encountered, and completely defeated, the Barbarians; but not until he had burst a blood-vessel, while exerting his voice too vehemently in the heat of action. He died, leaving the crown to his nephew Philip then in his seventeenth year, and who, seven years after his accession, was involved in a war with the Romans; the first waged by that people against any of Alexander's successors.

Antigonus recalled to Macedon by an Illyrian invasion. — His death. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

[84] Polybius, l. ii. c. 70.

CHAP. XIII.

Contemporary reigns of Alexander's successors in Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Olymp. cxxxix. 2 —4. B. C 225 —221.

The death of Antigonus happened in the same year with that of Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt, and in the same olympiad with that of Seleucus Keraunus king of Syria; so that these Greek kings of the East, forming the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror, all quitted the scene about the same time. A similar observation applied to the two generations preceding them. Seleucus Keraunus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, a prince still younger than Philip, since, only in his sixteenth year, whose eastern trophies procured him the title of "Great," but who was greatly unfortunate, in the latter part of his life, in his ill-advised Roman warfare. The new king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopator, needed not, as we shall see, the co-operation of foreign enemies to involve his kingdom in disaster, and to cover himself with ignominy.

The Ethiopian expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes.

Euergetes had received the fugitive king of Sparta, with the kindness due to an old and zealous ally, whose interests he had of late years too much neglected; for, as the commencement of his reign had been signalised by splendid but unprofitable expeditions in the East, so the latter part of it [85] was chiefly occupied in vast but untenable conquests in the south. He over-run Ethiopia or Abyssinia, made himself master of both sides of the Red Sea from the Isthmus of

[85] Euergetes says, that "sitting on his throne at Adulis, (of which we shall speak presently,) he consecrated it to Mars in the 27th — that is, the last, year of his reign."

CHAP. XIII.

Suez to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and proceeding even beyond this formidable boundary[86], fixed the extremity of his empire at Sasus, on the coast of Barbaria, abounding in the gold called Tancharas. As these expeditions were carried on by himself and his generals in the course of several years, he had an opportunity of surveying hitherto unexamined parts of Ethiopia; he scaled the lofty ridges of Samen eighty miles in extent, deformed by storms of hail, and by deep snow[87], though only in the fourteenth degree of north latitude. In advancing still nearer the line, he found that the tribe Sesea had taken refuge on a mountain almost perpendicular, and forming the rudest part of the highlands between Abyssinia and Adel.[88] He besieged it with his army: the inhabitants were stripped of their effects; the flower of their youth of both sexes was carried into slavery. The people of Gaza, probably Geez, in Abyssinia, submitted to pay half their property by way of contribution. From such examples we may judge of the treatment of other vanquished nations, and of the heavy burthens imposed on them: for Euergetes's principal design in the invasion of Arabia and Ethiopia seems to have

[86] Babelmandeb, the Gate of Sorrow. Arab.

[87] Snow so deep, that the troops sunk up to their knees. Inscript. Adulitan. Bruce denies the existence of snow in Abyssinia; and Father Lobo says, that it falls only in small quantities, and never lies on the ground, p. 578. Neither of these travellers had explored the sinuosities of mount Samen.

[88] Adel, the northern division of Barbaria. See above, vol. i. p. 80.

been to ravish by force of arms, the gold and perfumes which his wiser predecessors had attracted to them more abundantly by commerce. Though thus pre-eminent in rapacity, he boasts, however, of destroying robbery and piracy, and of reducing to peace the nations whom he had long harassed by a relentless war. In his own exaggerated style, "after subjecting the whole world to his authority, he came to Adulis, the principal seaport of Abyssinia, and re-united there the whole of his victorious forces, implor-ing the protection of Heaven to future navigators of those seas." The throne on which he sat was gratefully consecrated to Mars the god of war, whom he claims for his father and matchless auxiliary. It consisted of a white marble chair, formed from one block, with a tablet of basanite at its back, three cubits high. Both the tablet and the chair itself were covered with inscrip-tions which afford the only historical account of Euergetes's Ethiopian warfare, and which, above seven hundred years after the reign of that prince, were first published in the topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a travelling Greek monk, by whom they were copied on the spot.[89] Con-formably with this testimony, the name of Ptolemy Euergetes[90] is still found in Greek characters among the marble ruins of Axum,

[89] Vid. Cosmas Indicopleust. Topograph. Christian. p. 140. et seq. Edit. Montfaucon.

[90] Mr. Bruce says, that the stone containing this name serves as a foot-stool to the throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day.

CHAP. XIII.

the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Several other monuments belonging to the same place, seem also, to be warrantably referred to this adventurous prince.[91] Ptolemy's remote expeditions had prevented his interference at very critical junctures in the affairs of Greece. They serve also to account for strange negligence in the management of his provinces contiguous to Egypt itself. The example of Aradus, above-mentioned, indicates the looseness of his authority over Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; and in Palæstine, the irregularity of government appears in a transaction, which at the same time gives a striking picture of Euergetes's personal character.

His transactions with the Jews. Olymp. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 226.

Since the dissolution of their monarchy, the Jews, as we have seen, had been ruled by native priests, though tributaries both in men and money to those great powers which swayed successively the politics of Lower Asia. In the beginning of Euergetes's reign, they had passed from the external jurisdiction of Syria to that of Egypt. At the time of this revolution, their high-priest was Manasses, who still continued to hold his office twenty-two years, when he was succeeded by Onias, a man in advanced age, of a narrow understanding and niggardly disposition. In addition to contributions from the community, it should seem, that the Jewish high-priests were required to pay a small sum, from their private fortunes in acknowledgement

[91] Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. p. 129.

CHAP. XIII.

of dependence on foreign masters.[92] This sum, amounting only to twenty talents, Onias refused any longer to disburse, and thereby provoked Ptolemy's resentment against himself and his country.

Joseph farms the king's revenues in Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine.

To divert the royal displeasure was the task of Joseph, Onias's nephew, a youth whose character was totally the reverse of his uncle's. His pleasing manners, together with his liberality and spirit, ingratiated him with Athenion, one of Ptolemy's friends, whom the king had sent into Judæa to adjust the business of tribute[93], and whom Joseph prevailed on to return to Alexandria upon assurances that he himself would soon follow thither, and satisfy every demand. Accordingly, soon after Athenion's departure, Joseph followed him into Egypt, and in an audience of the king, apologised for the strange behaviour of Onias, by observing, that his old age had reduced him to a second childhood, "but of me, who have not yet outlived my understanding, the king shall have no reason to complain." Ptolemy was pleased with his frankness; assigned him an apartment in his palace, and daily admitted him to his table.

[92] Την ὑπερ τȣ λαȣ φορον, ὁν τοις βασιλευσι δι πατερες αυτȣ ετελȣν εκ των ιδιων. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. and below, δι ἁ (scilicet, χρηματα) και τȣ λαȣ την προσασιαν λαβειν αυτον ελεγε και την αρχιερατικης τιμης επιτυχειν.

[93] Josephus calls Athenion Ptolemy's *ambassador*. This and other expressions, indicating that Palæstine formed a separate state, are explained by the nature of its government, as stated in the text, and by Josephus's patriotic zeal for the honour of his country.

CHAP. XIII.

The address by which he obtained this contract.

It happened that Joseph, in his way to Alexandria, had fallen in with several travellers from Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, men of distinction in their respective cities, who had set out for the capital of Egypt, to be present at the sale of the provincial revenues, annually let to farm to the highest bidder. To inspire the better opinion of their wealth, they travelled with splendid equipages, and with numerous attendants; and were inclined to mock the mean equipment of Joseph, who had provided himself with servants and beasts of burden at an expence of 2000 drachmas.[94] He despised their raillery, but was deeply attentive to their serious conversation; from which he learned that the largest sums likely to be given for the revenues in question, fell short by more than one half of their real value. Accordingly, on the day of sale, which was conducted in the presence of Ptolemy and Berenicé, the highest price offered for the farm of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine amounted only to eight thousand talents, Joseph at once bid sixteen thousand, about three million sterling. Ptolemy was delighted to hear those provinces estimated at double their former assessment; but asked, as usual on such occasions, what sureties Joseph could produce for the fulfilment of his contract. The young Hebrew, who had discerned how much a jest was paramount in the king's deliberations to every serious reason, declared with much gravity,

[94] About 60*l.*

CHAP. XIII.

that he would give sureties of unquestionable probity, and unrivalled opulence. He then named Ptolemy himself and queen Berenicé, who, he said, would be mutually bound to each other, for the exact performance of his engagement. The king smiled consent; and Joseph, upon the credit of court favour, easily procured five hundred talents at Alexandria, to satisfy the arrears due by his uncle, and to equip himself suitably to the importance of his new employment. He was accompanied into Palæstine by a body of two thousand infantry. The cities of Ascalon and Scythopolis at first refused his demands; he punished in each place by death and confiscation about twenty persons, the ringleaders in sedition. This exemplary severity prevented farther disobedience: and it may be conjectured, that Joseph exercised the duty of collector with justice to the king, and without great oppression to the provinces, since he continued in his office twenty-two years under Euergetes and his immediate successor.[95]

Accession of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, and death of Cleomenes. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

Ptolemy Euergetes was succeeded by his son, shortly after the retreat of Cleomenes into Egypt. A king of Sparta, who had restored in his own country the austere discipline of Lycurgus, could not behold without indignation the wild follies and beastly vices of Philopator. This surname, denoting love for his father, created a suspicion that Ptolemy IV. had been guilty of parricide.[96] The suspicion he con-

[95] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 4

[96] Justin, l. xxix. c. 1

CHAP. XIII.

firmed, by commencing his reign with the murder of his mother Berenicé and his brother Magas.[97] Having thus secured, as he fancied, his government at home, he despised the nonage of Philip and Antiochus, his natural rivals abroad; committed the cares of state to servants worthy of such a master; and claimed the shameless perpetration of every enormity for the best of royal prerogatives.[98] Cleomenes remarked his proceedings, and expressed his honest abhorrence of them. His words were repeated to the king and the crafty minister Sosibius. Instead of a fleet, which Cleomenes solicited to carry him to his country, and which new disturbances in Greece, since the demise of Antigonus Doson, would have enabled him to employ with good prospect of success, he was seized and imprisoned; but, being negligently guarded, he escaped to the streets of Alexandria, and died there, with thirteen accompanying friends, after a romantic attempt to inspire with liberty the effeminate inhabitants of that place, who, instead of joining the insurgents, fled their approach, as that of wild beasts let loose from their confinement. To avoid the ignominious punishment which must soon overtake them, the Spartans perished by their own hands. The merciless Philopator wreaked his vengeance on the innocent children of Cleomenes. They were butchered before the eyes of his mother,

[97] Plutarch in Cleomen. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.
[98] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

CHAP. XIII.

who had carried them to Egypt for protection. Having deprecated, in vain, this inhuman cruelty, the high-minded Cratisiclea submitted to her own fate with Spartan firmness. Her female companions accompanied her death, exhibiting in this closing scene all the delicacy of their sex, with all the fortitude of their country.[99] By orders of Philopator, the body of Cleomenes was fixed on a conspicuous cross for an example of terror. But it was terrible, chiefly to the king himself, who united the vilest superstition to his other execrable deformities. A serpent, it seems, hoisted itself round the cross, and defended, as it were, against birds of prey the body affixed to it. This prodigy tormented the tyrant, until a soothing poet of his court taught him to believe that as various insects are engendered by the corruption of various animals, so serpents are produced by the putrifying spine of man. The fiction passed into an adage of the physical school of too credulous antiquity.[100]

Superstitious credulity of Philopator.

Towards the close of Ptolemy Euergetes's reign, the Colossus of Rhodes was thrown down by an earthquake. This was the brazen statue of Apollo, protecting divinity of the Rhodians, erected by his grateful votaries after Demetrius

The Colossus of Rhodes thrown down by an earthquake.

99 ἡ μεν ϑν Λακεδαιμων εφαμιλλως αγωνισαμενη τῳ γυναικειῳ δραματι, &c. Plutarch, p. 823.

100 Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro,
Mutari credunt humanas angue medullas. Ovid.

The lines are part of a translation of those of the Alexandrian poet Archelaus, preserved by his contemporary Antigonus Carystius. Vid. Paradox. Synagog.

CHAP. XIII.

Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

Poliorcetes raised the famous siege of their capital.[101] The artificer was Chares of Lindus, who completed the work in twelve years[102]; sixty-two years afterwards it was overturned by a concussion of the earth, which also destroyed the magazines and arsenals, demolished the greater part of the fortifications, and totally deformed the city itself. The Colossus is usually described as a hundred and five feet high, striding across the entrance to the harbour, so that ships in full sail passed between its gigantic limbs; yet, had this really been its attitude, the great body of the figure, when broken off near the knee[103], must have fallen into deep water. But we are informed, on the contrary, that this huge monument remained on dry land eight hundred and ninety-eight years, when Moawiah, the sixth Caliph of the Saracens, after his conquest of Rhodes, sold the ruins of the Colossus to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with its brass.[104]

Benefactions to that state.

If, with a well-informed and most accurate historian[105], we limit the supremacy of Alexander's successors to the third generation, the demolition of the Colossus of Rhodes is nearly contemporary with the downfal of Macedonian

[101] See above, vol. ii. p. 48.

[102] Pliny, l. xxxiv. c. 7.

[103] Pliny, ibid. with Count Caylus Memoir in vol. xxv. de l'Acad. des Inscript.

[104] Zonaras, Cedrenus, and Scaliger Animadvers. in Euseb. Chron. p. 137. A camel carries 700 pounds weight; so that the remains of this figure still weighed 630,000 pounds.

[105] Dionys. Halicarn. Histor. Roman. in Proœm.

greatness. Under the immediately subsequent race, Macedon and Syria, as we shall see, were reduced to the condition of vanquished tributaries; and Egypt which escaped this misfortune by carefully observing the treaty concluded between Rome and Ptolemy Philadelphus, sunk into an ally continually growing more humble, until it had scarcely any honourable privilege to lose by passing into the state of a province. Towards the decline of that dominion or supremacy, which the Greeks and Macedonians maintained in the world for the space of a century, the disasters which befel the Rhodians afforded an opportunity to the different members of the empire to attest their sympathy with a commonwealth, which, more than any other of that age, served to link them together in commerce. Besides an animated traffic with the states immediately around it, Rhodes traded with Byzantium, which commanded the commerce of the north; with Syracuse, which, by means of its connection with Carthage, commanded that of the west; and with Alexandria in Egypt, which was master of that carried on both to the east and south. All these salutary streams of reciprocally useful intercourse, which, in preceding parts of this work, have been particularly described, flowed into the Ægæan sea, and centered in Rhodes, the great bond of connection between distant emporiums, and, through its civility and probity, so universal a favourite, that kings and republics vied with each other in kind commiseration for its sufferings, and in generous exer-

CHAP. XIII.

tions for its relief.[106] There was scarcely a city of any importance belonging to the Grecian name, which did not send to Rhodes a tribute of respectful compassion: so that the enumeration appeared far too tedious to be undertaken, even by the historians of the times. Ptolemy Euergetes opened to them the vast naval repositories of his father; sent them timber, hemp, and canvass: he also presented them with ninety tons of brass to repair their Colossus, or cast a new one: with 300 talents in silver; and with a million *measures*[107] of corn. Antigonus Doson of Macedon and his queen Chryseis supplied them abundantly with iron and lead, with deals and pitch.[108] Among the gifts of Seleucus Keraunus, the short-lived predecessor of Antiochus surnamed the Great, we may remark thirty ton of rosin, and an equal weight of hair for cordage.[109] Prusias I. of Bithynia, Mithridates IV. of Pontus, vindicated their affinity to the Greek kings of the East, by valuable donations to the Rhodians; who, after long making the world tributary to their commerce, now levied on it still larger and more honourable contributions to reward the liberality and good

[106] Polybius, l. v. c. 88. et seq.

[107] Αρταβαι, each Artaba was equal to an Attic Medimnus; that is, four pecks and six pints English.

[108] Part of it was in a crude state, since it consisted of 1000 μετρητα; a liquid measure equal to ten gallons and two pints English.

[109] Hair for this purpose is mentioned together with νευρα εργασμενα, "prepared tendons or sinews of animals," which formed the fittest elastic cords for working military engines. Polyb. l. iv. c. 56.

faith with which that commerce had been conducted. That the acts of munificence shown to them were intended as tokens of respect, appeared particularly in the largesses of Hieron king of Syracuse, and his son Gelon. Not contented with sending oil [110] for the use of gymnastic wrestlers, and catapults constructed by the wonderful skill of their friend and kinsman Archimedes, these princes caused a noble group of statuary to be erected in a square at Rhodes, where foreign traders exposed samples [111] of their merchandise, representing the citizens of Rhodes crowned by those of Syracuse. The famous Colossus, however, was never more replaced on its basis. To this design, the Oracle of Delphi interposed its sage prohibition [112]; for a place liable to earthquakes was a very unfit site for such a towering monument. The Rhodians thus incurred the censure of meanly applying to less splendid uses, the gratuities bestowed on them for a public and sacred purpose. But this was the ignorant reproach of later times; for we shall see that only two years after repairing their city, they nobly signalised the virtues which had so universally endeared them; and by exertions peculiarly their own, procured common benefits for the whole commercial world.

CHAP. XIII.

[110] Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 88. & Diodorus in Eclog. vi. ex l. xxvi. The text of Polybius is imperfect; for the 75 talents cannot apply to the oil. Besides contributions in kind, the Syracusans sent money for many obliging purposes, as the expence of sacrifices, and the procuring accommodations for the industrious poor; so I understand the doubtful words επαυξησιν των πολιτων.

[111] Thence this square was called το δειγμα. Vid. Suid. & Hesych.

[112] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 652.

CHAP. XIV.

Fourth Generation of Alexander's Successors. — Revolt of Media and Persis from Antiochus III. *— Intrigues of his Minister, Hermēias. — War in Upper Asia.— Negociations with Ptolemy Philopator. — Address of Ptolemy's Minister Sosibius.—Battle of Raphia. — Achæus's Power in Lesser Asia.—War of Commerce between the Rhodians and Byzantines. — Achæus besieged in Sardes. — His Capture and Death. — Antiochus's Expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. — He rescues Gerra from Arabs. — Last Stages of Ptolemy Philopator's Reign. — Profanation of the Jewish Temple. — Sedition in Alexandria. — Letters and Arts.*

CHAP. XIV.

Fourth generation of Alexander's successors, Antiochus. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223. Philip and Ptolemy. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

During a full century after the death of Alexander, the three first successions of his generals enjoyed either an absolute jurisdiction, or a controuling ascendency over all those countries of the East, that fall within the sphere of ancient history. But in the fourth generation, the Greeks and Macedonians began to be precipitated from the supreme rank which they had long held among nations. This revolution, originating in domestic disorders, was accelerated by the impulse of a great foreign power, whose spring had recently been

wound up in Italy, and which, after bursting that barrier, to lay prostrate Carthage and Sicily, assailed in succession the rich countries of the east, with accumulating force, and most decisive effect. Immediately before this Roman warfare, the thrones of Syria and Macedon devolved respectively on Antiochus III. and Philip IV. both of them minors; and, at the same time, Egypt was subjected to the worse than puerile follies of Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.[1] From such principal actors a very perturbed scene was to be expected. Greece which had been united in peaceful tranquillity under the mild yet firm policy of Antigonus Doson, again exhausted its unhappy valour in what is called the social war. The throne of the young king of Syria was shaken by revolt in his provinces, and by discord in his family. Notwithstanding this unsoundness within, Antiochus was tempted by the mad cruelty of Ptolemy Philopator, which rendered him odious to his subjects, to make war on that profligate tyrant.[2] From these general convulsions, many partial disorders flowed; and the empire was weakened by deep internal wounds, when the evil destiny of Philip and Antiochus involved them successively in hostilities with Rome. To untravel this complex subject, it is necessary to begin with the affairs of Syria.

When that kingdom was deprived of its head by the treacherous murder of Seleucus Kerau-

Achæus's merit with Antiochus.

[1] Polybius, l. ii. c. 70, 71. l. iv. c. 2.
[2] Id. l. v. c. 40.

CHAP. XIV.

nius in Lesser Asia, his brother Antiochus, presumptive heir to the crown, resided [3] in Babylon, that is, Seleucia-Babylonia, the greatest city in the empire. Achæus, a general nearly connected with the royal line [4], after punishing the murderers of Keraunus, might have been saluted king by the motly and mutinous army in Lesser Asia. [5] But he disdained the treachery of his troops, quelled their sedition, reviled their disloyalty, and overawed them into allegiance to the representative of Seleucus Nicator. Antiochus was thus recalled from the East to the more central strong-hold of Antioch, the usual residence of his predecessors. The generous Achæus remained as governor in the provinces on this side mount Taurus; and Epigenes, a general eminent for abilities and integrity, conducted a portion of the western army to join the royal standard in Syria. The affairs of that country, and the general superintendence of the empire, had been committed by the late king, to Hermeias the Carian; a man insinuating and artful, but subtle without wisdom, ambitious without dignity, envious and vengeful in the extreme, and industrious to supply the want of every virtue, by boldness of intrigue, and unprincipled stratagems of well-concerted villany. This knave, whose abilities were equally well-calculated to gain and to abuse the confidence

The pernicious minister Hermeias.

[3] Polybius, l. v. c. 40. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

[4] He was cousin-german to Antiochus, since his father Andromachus was materna; uncle to that prince. Polyb. l. iv. c. 51.

[5] Id. l. v. c. 4. et l. iv. c. 2.

of princes, soon acquired an ascendency over the youthful inexperience of Antiochus. The opinion of Hermeias was paramount in the council; and by his advice, Molon and Alexander, two brothers as unworthy as himself, were named respectively to the important satrapies of Media and Persis. [6] CHAP. XIV.

Revolt of Media and Persis. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

These men were no sooner established in their governments, than they tampered with the allegiance of the troops, withheld pecuniary contributions, and at length openly revolted. Instead of being encouraged to oppose in person this formidable rebellion, Antiochus was amused by the celebration of unequal nuptials with Laodicé, daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus [7], still a small and weak kingdom; and though a council was afterwards held purposely to deliberate on war, the selfish advice of the minister again defeated measures salutary to the empire. The loyal bravery of Epigenes warmly recommended an expedition to the East. The insurrections, he observed, might be yet checked by seasonable vigour. Little was to be apprehended from the partisans of Molon and Alexander, inconsiderable in number, destitute of faith to their lawful king, and not likely to be firm in adherence to upstart masters. Should the European troops, contrary to all probability, per-

Epigenes exhorts the king to march to the East.

[6] Polyb. l. v. c. 41.

[7] From Laodicé, mother to Seleucus Nicator, with whose house the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia became connected by affinity, that name grew nearly as common in Syria and Lesser Asia, as Cleopatra was in Egypt. We shall see another Laodicé, daughter also to Mithridates IV., married to Achæus, Antiochus's kinsman.

CHAP. XIV.

severe in rebellion, such handfuls of men would be overwhelmed by the more honest natives of the provinces: Antiochus, therefore, had only to show himself among them, and the Asiatics would signalise their loyalty, by seizing and surrendering to him the European rebels.[8]

This prevented by the intrigues of Hermeias.

In reply to this good counsel, Hermeias upbraided its author for wishing to expose the tender age of the king to a laborious and dangerous warfare. He proposed that two of his own creatures, Xenon, and Theodotus surnamed Hemiolius from the hugeness of his figure, should be sent to Upper Asia against the insurgents; and when these generals had fully shown their incapacity, again diverted Antiochus from the Median war, by recommending to him a nearer and safer expedition, for the recovery of Cœle-Syria out of the careless hands of Ptolemy Philopator. To enforce this latter measure in the council, Hermeias produced a forged letter, addressed, as he pretended, to himself, by Achæus, in which that governor of Lesser Asia revealed overtures from Ptolemy, advising him to despise the nonage of his royal kinsman, and boldly to place the diadem on his own head, with an assurance that, if Achæus were not wanting to himself at this crisis of his fortune, Ptolemy would powerfully assist him with ships and money.[9] The vile artifice succeeded: Antiochus eagerly adopted the expedition against Cœle-Syria.

[8] Polybius, l. v. c. 41. et seq.

[9] Id. c. 42.

CHAP. XIV.

Before his preparations enabled him to take the field, the royalists in Upper Asia had been compelled to abandon Media to the rebels, and had retired for protection within the walled cities of Babylonia. The victorious Molon had proceeded to the banks of the Tigris, and would have passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, had not Zeuxis, a brave and intelligent officer commanding in Babylonia, destroyed the bridges of boats across the stream, and seized all the vessels by which it was navigated. Thus arrested in his progress, but not dejected as to his future prospects, Molon encamped in sight of Seleucia, at the place afterwards called Ctesiphon, on the eastern margin of the Tigris, and destined, under that name, to become the imperial seat of the Parthians, as Seleucia, directly opposite to it on the western side of the river, had been the capital of the Macedonians in Upper Asia. [10]

Progress of the rebels in Upper Asia.

Antiochus, when apprised of these sad events, was again desirous of suspending his expedition against Ptolemy, and of marching in person to the East: but Hermeias continued to dissuade him from that salutary purpose by very childish arguments; alleging, in particular, that it was unworthy of a sovereign to take the field against traiterous subjects, and that a new and better general only should be sent against Molon, while Antiochus waged a more glorious war against Ptolemy, a king like himself. Accordingly Xenætas, an Achæan, was appointed to com-

Xenætas sent by Antiochus against the rebels.

[10] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

CHAP. XIV.

mand in the East, through the influence of Hermeias, without the slightest recommendation from personal merit. The authority conferred on him exceeded his hopes as much as it surpassed his worth; and, in the whole conduct of his disastrous expedition, he exhibited the characteristic deformities of an upstart; intolerable insolence, and the most confident rashness. Having arrived at Seleucia, he summoned to his assistance Diogenes, governor of Susiana, and Pythiades, who commanded on the Arabian shores of the Persian gulph. His army thus reinforced, encamped without the walls of Seleucia, and was gladdened by perpetual deserters form Molon, who swam to it across the Tigris, assuring their former friends and fellow-soldiers, that the usurper was odious among his own troops, most of whom were still loyal in their hearts. [11]

His operations and tragical defeat on the banks of the Tigris.

Upon these representations, Xenætas, who was well provided with vessels, passed the river eight miles below the enemy's post, with a large division of his horse and foot, leaving the remainder in his camp, under the command of Zeuxis and Pythiades. This embarkation being made in the night, the troops, at morning, found themselves in a place of security, defended partly by the Tigris, and partly by pools and marshes. A detachment of horse, which Molon sent to annoy them, sunk and perished in the mire. Upon learning this accident, Molon hastily left his camp, and, with the show of a

[11] Polybius, l. v. c. 48.

precipitate retreat, directed his course towards Media. Xenætas doubted not that the usurper fled the approach of an enemy through distrust of his own army. He took possession of the hostile camp, plenteously provided with all accommodations and luxuries. The greatest part of the troops, under Zeuxis, were ordered to cross the Tigris, and to join in festivity with their companions, preparatory to a triumphant expedition in search of the flying enemy; but Molon, by a rapid nocturnal march, surprised at dawn his recently forsaken camp, and assailed his improvident adversaries, buried in sleep and wine. Xenætas paid by death the just forfeit of his folly. The horror of men weltering on their bloody beds was surpassed by the more unusual disaster of those who had time to escape from immediate butchery. Being in sight of their camp on the opposite side of the Tigris, which they had recently quitted with such pleasing hopes, they threw into the river their arms and most valued effects, as if by some spontaneous movement these inanimate objects had been destined to reach the opposite bank. They then plunged boldly into the water, in order to follow their property; but dreadful was the delusion, and most piteous the spectacle which it occasioned! crowds of half-armed men vainly struggling with the stream; horses, furniture of all kinds, buoyant bucklers, and emerging bodies of the drowned. Zeuxis, who, from the opposite shore, observed the sad catastrophe, retired with

CHAP. XIV.

a handful of men into Seleucia. Diogenes, the governor of Susiana, gained, by a precipitate flight, the protection of the Susian citadel.[12]

The rebels gain Seleucia-Babylonia, and the dependant provinces. Olymp. cxxxix. 5. B.C. 222.

The rebels meanwhile were masters of the Tigris, and the transports collected on it by the enemy. In pursuance of their good fortune, they hastened to assault the wealthy and populous Seleucia, which, being unprepared for making any vigorous defence, had been abandoned both by Zeuxis, satrap of the province, and by Diomedon, governor of the city, men peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels, and likely, if they had fallen into their hands, to be subjected to the most dreadful cruelties. Molon, having easily gained possession of Seleucia, over-ran, with equal facility, the fertile district extending southward to the Persian gulph. He then hastened to Susiana, that valuable eastern appendage to the rich Babylonian plain. The capital, Susa, submitted on the first assault; but Diogenes, at the head of a steady garrison, defied the invaders from the citadel, one of the strongest fortresses in the east, and long the principal depository, in those parts, of the royal treasures.[13] Leaving part of his forces to besiege this important fortress, Molon returned to Seleucia, and directing his arms northward, subdued all the cultivated part of Mesopotamia, as far as Dura, on the left bank of the Tigris, about half-way between Seleucia and Mosul, the more ancient but lesser Nineveh.[14]

[12] Polybius, l. v. c. 46.

[13] Polyb. l. v. c. 48.

[14] See above, vol. i. p. 83.

CHAP. XIV.

When Antiochus learned the success of the rebels, he became more zealous than ever for marching into the upper provinces. Hermeias could no longer amuse him by the proposed conquest of Cœle-Syria, because that experiment had been tried unsuccessfully. The inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, for reasons formerly explained, were not less devoted to the Ptolemies, than the natives of Upper Asia were attached to the house of Seleucus. Ptolemy Philopator disgraced himself, indeed, in Alexandria, by unceasing scenes of profligacy and folly; but Theodotus, the Etolian, was his vigilant and warlike satrap in Cœle-Syria. At the perfidious instigation of Hermeias, Antiochus, however, had marched into this rude and mountainous province [15], whilst the kernel of his eastern empire was a prey to ill-resisted rebellion. His forces rendezvoused at Apamea, and proceeded southward to the plain of Marsyas, which opening on one hand to the Syrian desert, contracts on the other into a narrow valley, between the roots of Libanus and Antilibanus. Besides the natural defences of pools and marshes, abounding with aromatic reeds, Theodotus had fortified the valley with trenches and palisades: and the strong castles of Brochi and Gerra, situate opposite to each other, on the enclosing mountains, were sufficient to arrest the progress of any other than the most determined enemy. Antiochus marched several days through the Marsyan plain; but

Antiochus's expedition into Cœle-Syria. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

Nature of the country by which he penetrated.

[15] Polyb. l. v. c. 46.

CHAP. XIV.

Returns to Antioch in disgrace.

when he approached Gerra, and the inmost recesses of Cœle-Syria, his juvenile ardour died away before the obstacles which Theodotus had skilfully opposed to him. His rash undertaking was hastily abandoned, after it had been attended with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace; and the army had again returned to Tetrapolis [16], or Seleucian Syria, when the mortifying accounts of Molon's victories arrived from the east.

Marches against the rebels.

Epigenes hindered from accompanying him. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

Hermeias, though he could no longer restrain his master from marching thither, determined at least that he should not be accompanied by Epigenes, whose abilities and honest boldness were the perpetual objects of his own guilty alarm. A mutiny of the troops was fomented, probably through his intrigues, since he undertook to find means of quelling it, provided the king should leave behind him Epigenes, in Apamea; and Antiochus consented to this disgraceful condition, so powerful had Hermeias become through his unwearied activity in gaining to his interest all who, either in a civil or military capacity, had access to the sovereign. By the payment of their arrears, the troops in general were appeased; about six thousand men, belonging to the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, alone continued refractory. [17] They refused to accompany the royal standard, and suffered long afterwards the punishment of their disobedience.

[16] So called, from its four principal cities, Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, and Seleucia. See above, vol. i. p. 203. & vol. ii. p. 115.

[17] Polybius, l. v. c. 50.

CHAP XIV.

He proceeds to Nisibis. Difference between his generals concerning the remainder of the march.

The king being joined by Zeuxis, from Babylonia, marched northwards to Chalybon, the modern Aleppo, passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and from thence traversed northern Mesopotamia, to the river Mygdonius, and the Greek city Antiochia-Mygdonea, which adorned its banks. In this place, which became better known under its old oriental name of Nisibis, having arrived about the winter solstice, he halted forty days, with an army consisting of a complete Macedonian phalanx, numerous bodies of lighter armed Greeks, and crowds of Barbarian auxiliaries, among whom the Gauls were pre-eminent. From Nisibis he proceeded, after the rage of winter[18] was spent, to the city of Liba, near the western bank of the Tigris. At Liba, a difference of opinion arose between Hermeias and Zeuxis, concerning the best mode of pursuing the remainder of the march to Babylonia.[19] Hermeias, a coward in war, notwithstanding the boldness of his intrigues, maintained that the king ought to proceed southward, along the right bank of the Tigris, by which means that river, as well as the Lycus and Caprus, would be interposed between him and the main strength of the enemy.[20] Zeuxis, on the contrary, represented, that unless the army crossed the Tigris, they must penetrate through a broad desert[21] before they came to the royal

[18] He was near Mount Masius, the cold northern boundary of Mesopotamia.

[19] Polyb. l. v. c. 51.

[20] For the geography, see above, vol. i. p. 74. et seq.

[21] He said 100 miles broad. Polyb ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

canal joining the Tigris and Euphrates, where it would be easy for Molon, with a far inferior force, to arrest their progress. He advised, therefore, that Antiochus should cross the Tigris, descend to Dura, near its eastern bank, and from thence advancing to mount Zagros, fall down on the territory of Apollonia, an intermediate district between Babylonia and Media, colonised and cultivated by Greeks, all warmly attached to the royal cause. By this movement Molon would be excluded from his resources in Media, particularly the rich Nisæan fields; and in order to regain admission into that country, the head and spring of his rebellion, would be tempted either to risk a battle, or, declining that danger, would infallibly lose all controul over his reluctant and now exasperated followers.

He advances to Apollonia.

Conformably to this sound advice, the army, in three divisions, crossed the Tigris. Having proceeded to Dūra, they defeated a large body of rebels, who were then besieging that place. In the space of eight days, they traversed the mountainous country eastward of Dura, and fell down on the Apollonian district. When Molon learned the approach of the royal army, he immediately conjectured the course which it was likely to pursue. He therefore crossed the Tigris, in hopes of defending the defiles which led towards Apollonia, or of greatly annoying the enemy's progress, by means of his numerous slingers, the Kurtii, or Curds. The rapidity of Antiochus had frustrated this de-

CHAP. XIV.

sign; and a detachment, sent by him from Apollonia, encountered among the hills the foremost division of the rebels. After a slight skirmish, both parties fell back to their respective armies, which encamped at the distance of five miles from each other. As Molon well knew the disaffection among his own troops, he was unwilling to meet the king face to face, and in the clear light of day; he therefore selected the firmest and bravest of the number, with whom making a circuit round, he purposed to descend from a neighbouring eminence, and thus surprise Antiochus's camp in the night. But this design was defeated by the desertion of ten youths, who hoped, by seasonable intelligence, to atone for past rebellion. Molon, upon learning their escape, marched back to his own camp, which the unexpected return of his detachment filled with alarm and tumult.

Molon disappointed in his attempt to surprise the king's camp.

At dawn, Antiochus was in the field, commanding in person his right wing. Molon was likewise obliged to prepare for battle, because inaction, under his circumstances, would be certain ruin, the countries which he had usurped longing to return to their allegiance, and even the greater part of his army being ill-affected to his cause. His brother, Neolaus, commanded the right wing; Molon, on the left, opposed Antiochus. The armies had no sooner come in sight of each other, than the division under Molon, beholding the young and graceful Antiochus, then in his nineteenth year, and the lineal descendant of the revered Seleucus Ni-

Molon's army deserts him. His destruction, and that of his family. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

CHAP. XIV.

cator, were seized with a sudden and unanimous resolution of joining the standard which they had been drawn up to oppose. Their revolt occasioned the total rout of the insurgents. Molon slew himself in despair; Neolaus fled into Persis, to Alexander, the third of the rebellious brothers, and persuaded him to avoid an ignominious execution, by accompanying himself in a voluntary death. Their principal accomplices submitted to the same fate. Antiochus pardoned their deluded followers, after severely reprimanding their disloyalty: the body of the traitor Molon was fixed to a cross, on the most conspicuous pinnacle of mount Zagros. [22]

Hermeias's cruelties in Seleucia restrained by Antiochus.

Antiochus having named new governors for Persis and Media, marched towards Seleucia, and received the submissions of that great city, and the invaluable contiguous territory. The unworthy Hermeias, whose name had remained in obscurity during the war, again emerged into odious distinction upon peace. He raged with ungoverned fury against the Chaldæans, priests and judges among the Asiatic inhabitants of Seleucia; imposing on them enormous fines, exacted with relentless cruelty. It is uncertain to what lengths his tyranny would have proceeded, had not the compassion of Antiochus restrained it. [23]

Antiochus reduces the Lesser Media.

That young prince, having restored tranquillity to the provinces around the Tigris and

[22] Polybius, l. v. c. 53 & 54. [23] Id. ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

Euphrates, marched into northern Media, which had abetted the rebellion of the great southern country bearing the same name. The Lesser Media, as we have seen, had received the epithet of Atropatena, from the hereditary satrap, who had manfully defended its independence. Artabazanes, a descendant of Atropates, commanded in the same territory, and with a mind as obstinate as his country was impracticable, for many years set the Macedonians at defiance; but he was now softened by the infirmities of old age, so that when Antiochus appeared on his frontier with a victorious army, he submitted to every condition which the invader thought proper to impose on him.[24]

Crimes and punishment of Hermeias.

The cowardly Hermeias had reluctantly followed his master into a rough country, against a formidable enemy. He had employed his usual artifices for preventing the expedition; but his intrigues had been defeated, and the time was now come when he was to pay the forfeit of his innumerable villanies. One of the basest of them had lately come to light. When the brave and honest Epigenes was compelled by his contrivances to quit the army, and to remain behind at Apamea, Hermeias determined that the place of his adversary's exile should be made the scene of his death. In perpetrating this enormity, he found a ready instrument in Alexis, his creature, and governor of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes,

[24] Polybius, l. v. c. 55.

CHAP. XIV.

and clandestinely introduced among his papers. When this was effected, by means of a suborned slave, Alexis was presently at hand to arraign a general, high in favour with Antiochus, as holding correspondence with the usurper. Epigenes denied the fact; his papers were searched; the letter forged by Hermeias was found; and Epigenes, through the basest treachery, was condemned and punished as a traitor.[25]

An account of this execrable transaction had reached Antiochus, but so diligently had Hermeias fortified himself by creatures and accomplices, that he was the object of fear even to his master. At length the physician Apollophanes, divining the king's unfriendly disposition towards his minister, encouraged him to anticipate the designs of a man capable of every wickedness. Their measures were soon concerted. On pretence that the king was affected with a giddiness in his head, he was advised to walk early in the cool morning air, unmolested by the bustle of his guards and courtiers. A few particular friends, all partners in the conspiracy, except Hermeias, who was its object, attended their royal master, who, after reaching a due distance from the camp, stepped aside as on some necessary occasion. This was the sign for his attendants to dispatch Hermeias with their daggers. In his return to Syria, the councils and actions of Antiochus were highly celebrated at every place through which he passed; but

Means by which the latter was accomplished.

[25] Polybius, l. v. c. 51.

none of his exploits were so loudly extolled as the removal, even by assassination, of his dangerous and detested minister. Such was the public rage against this abuser of royal authority, and such the sanguinary fierceness of the age, that the women of Apamea, when they heard of the murder of Hermeias, laid violent hands on his wife; the children of the place also stoned to death his children.[26] CHAP. XIV. Destruction of his family.

The mischief of Hermeias's administration did not end with himself. His jealousy of every kind of merit had alienated from Antiochus his generous kinsman Achæus, to whose loyalty and bravery that prince owed the preservation of his western dominions. Through the perfidy of court intrigues, Achæus was driven into the rebellion of which he had been falsely accused; and before Antiochus returned from Upper Asia, assumed, for his own safety, sovereignty in the Peninsula, or rather in those parts of it not formerly dismembered from the Syrian power. As the troops which Antiochus left behind him in Syria were discontented, particularly those belonging to the district of Cyrrhus, his lieutenants were altogether unable, in his absence, to cope with so powerful a rebel; and when the king, in person, returned with his triumphant army from the East, fortune withheld him from Lesser Asia, by presenting a nearer field of victory.[27] Achæus fortifies himself in Lesser Asia. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

This was the age of bad ministers; and what Theodotus, the

[26] Polyb. l. v. c. 56. [27] Ibid. l. v. c. 58.

CHAP. XIV.

Etolian, puts him in possession of Cœle-Syria. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

Hermeias had been in Syria, Sosibius was in Egypt. Provided he could engross power, and amass wealth, Sosibius was altogether careless of the disgraceful follies of his master Ptolemy Philopator, who, in contempt of his high-spirited queen and sister Arsinoë, wallowed in shameless profligacy with Agathoclea a common harlot, her infamous mother Oenanthe, and her brother Agathocles, a wretch more abominable than either. To such persons, Theodotus the brave Etolian, to whom Philopator owed the preservation of Cœle-Syria, had rendered himself obnoxious. Instead of receiving any due rewards for his services, he incurred the hatred both of the king and his minister. To anticipate their vengeance, Theodotus had recourse to Antiochus just returned from his successful expedition into Upper Asia; and the same man who had skilfully defended Cœle-Syria against that prince, now offered to put him in possession of several strong-holds there, as well as of the seaports of Tyre and Ptolemais, with forty sail in their harbours. Theodotus's proposals were accepted; his promises were performed; in a single campaign, Antiochus recovered most places in Cœle-Syria; and, as another portion of his troops expelled from Seleucia-Pieria the Egyptians, who had garrisoned that city ever since its conquest by Ptolemy Euergetes, the Syrian power, nearly consolidated in itself, assumed a very formidable attitude with regard to Egypt. [28]

[28] Polyb. l. v. c. 59. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

That Philopator's ministers were of this opinion, appeared from the orders given by them to destroy the wells between Egypt and Syria, and to open the flood-gates of the Nile near Pelusium, that the country, being laid under water, might interrupt an invading enemy. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Antiochus to negociate a truce, until peace on equitable terms might be concluded between the two kingdoms. In this embassy, they were successively joined by Rhodians, Byzantines, and other Greeks, who had long been connected with Egypt in the bands of commerce and amity. A tedious negociation was thus entered into between the courts of Antioch and Memphis; for in the latter city Sosibius and Agathocles chose to receive the ambassadors of Antiochus. Their reason for this preference shows, that, though destitute of every virtue, they were not deficient in the wiles of policy.

He threatens Egypt, which is saved by an artfully protracted negociation. Olymp. cxl. 1. B. C. 220.

While the ambassadors of Antiochus were treated with unbounded respect, and every conference held with them tended to confirm their opinion that the lazy, voluptuous Philopator would be glad to purchase peace by the meanest compliances, armed men were gradually collected, embodied, and disciplined under skilful Greek officers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inland garrisons were drained; those provinces on the southern coast of Lesser Asia long subject to the Ptolemies, supplied numerous recruits; Cyrené and other dependencies in Africa

Meanwhile the Egyptians collect and discipline a great army.

CHAP. XIV.

sent considerable reinforcements; above all, the Peloponnesians, Cretans, and other still warlike Greeks, were eager to enlist in a profitable service. During the long-protracted negociation, an army was thus assembled at Alexandria, consisting of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three elephants: the magazines of arms and provisions were fully adequate to such a mighty force.[29]

They end the negociation and take the field. — Forces on both sides.

When all preparations were in readiness, the ambassadors of Ptolemy began to throw off the mask. They maintained, that after the defeat of Antigonus, surnamed the Cylops, Cœle-Syria in the partition of his spoils had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter, and ought therefore to be restored to his descendant, especially since it had been recently wrested from him only through the perfidious treason of Theodotus the Etolian. But though they thus stigmatised a rebel to their own king, they insisted that Achæus, who had now openly rebelled against Antiochus, should be included as a party in the peace, and enjoy his usurped possessions. Antiochus could not hear such propositions with patience. He was at the head of an army little less powerful than Ptolemy's, since it consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, with upwards of an hundred elephants.

Preparations for the battle of Raphia.

Meanwhile, the Egyptians moved from Alexandria to Pelusium, and from thence to Raphia, which, after Rhinocolura, is the nearest city of

[29] Polyb. l. v. c. 64. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

Cœle-Syria[30] on the side of Egypt. Before they performed this laborious march, Antiochus with the lighter part of his army had advanced to Gaza, only forty miles distant, and when he had been joined there by his more heavily armed troops, proceeded slowly in the day, and in the night pitched his camp within less than a mile's distance from the enemy. Frequent skirmishes happened daily between parties that went abroad in search of provisions and water: and the ground between the adverse camps, became the scene of fierce encounters both of cavalry and infantry. But the exploit of Theodotus the Etolian surpassed all the rest in boldness. At once to gratify his personal resentment and to finish the war by an illustrious vengeance, he advanced with two daring companions into the enemy's camp, and through favour of darkness and disguise[31], penetrated to the royal pavilion in which Ptolemy used to sup with his friends and give audience. But the king commonly slept in a more private tent, which circumstance being unknown to Theodotus, he missed his purpose of killing him, and stabbed, instead of Ptolemy, his physician Andreas: after wounding two others, he escaped without hindrance to the surrounding entrenchment. Even there, his resistless courage suffered but a slight interruption.[32]

Olymp. cxl. 2. B.C. 219.

Attempt of Theodotus on the life of Ptolemy.

[30] Polybius uses the word in a large sense, thereby including Judæa.

[31] This was the more easy, as the Egyptian troops were variously dressed and armed.

[32] Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 18. & 3 Maccabees, c. 1.

CHAP. XIV.

Advantage of Ptolemy's foreign troops over those of Antiochus.

Ptolemy, finding that danger pursued him in his camp itself, became impatient for battle. His light skirmishers and cavalry poured from their entrenchments, and began to form in the plain westward of Raphia, inclosing between their outspreading wings the phalanx of about thirty thousand men, with a due proportion of *hypaspists*. The army of Antiochus contained the same distinctions of troops, and nearly in the same proportions. Intermixed with Greeks and Macedonians, chosen men, from the remotest dependencies of Syria and Egypt, augmented the heavy-armed infantry in either line. On both sides there were Thessalian cavalry, and Theban spearmen; crafty Cretans, fierce Thracians, and ferocious Gauls; for the wealth of the two most powerful kingdoms of the East had purchased martial auxiliaries wherever they could be found. But the European troops of Ptolemy had an advantage over those of his rival: they came more recently from their native provinces, and carried with them that unbroken vigour and inborn bravery, which always suffered decay through contact long continued with Egyptian and Asiatic softness.

Battle of Raphia, and victory of Philopator. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

Before the signal for action, the two kings, as by mutual consent, rode round their respective armies, and animated them to a battle which was to decide the pre-eminence between Syria and Egypt. In his progress along the line, Philopator was accompanied by his high-minded queen Arsinoë, eager to share the dangers of her unworthy husband, whose debased profligacy

CHAP. XIV.

was incompatible with every conjugal virtue. Having finished his review Ptolemy took his post on the left: Antiochus placed himself on his right, in direct opposition; both kings were surrounded by royal troops of *equestrian companions*[33], though those select bands were not employed by either, in the way that had made them the great instruments of Alexander's victories. Instead of clearing the ground by the horse, to make room for the unbroken assault of the phalanx, both Ptolemy and Antiochus had placed a line of elephants before their cavalry. These fierce animals advanced to the charge; and a singular spectacle was exhibited by the spearmen fighting from towers on their backs, and one still more extraordinary, by the elephants themselves, who rushed together with adverse fronts, and strove with their implicated trunks to force each other from his ground; until the stronger having pushed aside the proboscis of his adversary, and forced him to turn his flank, then pierced him in many parts with his tusks, as a bull gores with his horns.[34] At length the Egyptian elephants were repelled by the superior size, and strength, and fury of their rival warriors from India; and the confusion, which their rout occasioned, was followed by the defeat of Ptolemy's left wing, the king himself being obliged to retire for safety behind his phalanx. While Antiochus incautiously urged the

[33] Antiochus's ιλη βασιλικη, denotes the same thing with Ptolemy's αγημα. Polybius, l. v. c. 84. See above, vol. i. c. i. 296. et seq.

[34] Polybius, l. v. c. 84.

CHAP. XIV.

pursuit, and was eager to push to the utmost his partial advantage, Echecrates, the Thessalian, who commanded on Ptolemy's right, instructed by what had happened at the other extremity of the field, determined, instead of advancing his elephants to the unequal combat, to defile with his Thessalian and other horsemen, until they had stretched beyond the extremity of Antiochus's left wing. To occupy the enemy's attention during this decisive movement, the Greek mercenaries on the side of Echecrates rushed against the troops posted in opposition to them, at the same time that the Thessalian horse prepared for their resistless attack in flank and rear. By this means, Antiochus was defeated as completely on the left, as he had proved victorious on the right. The phalanxes, thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain. Ptolemy on this occasion passed quickly with Arsinoë and his attendants from rear to front. Their sudden appearance infused courage into the Egyptian line, and dismayed the enemy. The battle on the side of Antiochus was sustained with vigour only by Theodotus the Etolian, who commanded the select bands of Syria, many of whom were armed with silver shields in imitation of Alexander's *Argyraspides*. But the heavier phalanx, under the inauspicious guidance of Theodotus the Hemiolian, quickly gave way; and his intrepid namesake, to avoid being attacked in flank, was compelled to accompany his flight. Antiochus, meanwhile, had been carried forward with a

juvenile ardour, as if the engagement had every where been successful, because his own wing was victorious. One of his more experienced attendants at length showed him clouds of dust flying in the direction of his camp. He then returned from the pursuit towards the scene of action, but found the battle irretrievably lost. He retreated first to Raphia, where many of the fugitives had entered, and before the next morning proceeded from thence towards Gaza. [35]

Peace between Egypt and Syria. Olymp. cxl. 3. B. C. 218.

In acknowledgement of his defeat, he sent from that place heralds to Ptolemy, craving leave to bury his slain. Ten thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen lay dead on the field: above four thousand had been made prisoners. There fell on the side of Ptolemy, fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. The battle of Raphia restored to Egypt the undisturbed possession of Cœle-Syria, Palæstine, and Phœnicia. Antiochus retired northwards to his well-fortified capital on the banks of the Orontes, from whence a truce for a year, and afterwards a lasting peace was negociated between himself and Ptolemy. [36]

Greatness of Achæus in Lesser Asia.

In consequence of this treaty, which allowed the latter of these princes to exhibit, as we shall see presently, the boundless depravity of his character, his useful ally Achæus was left to maintain alone the contest in Lesser Asia. During Antiochus's occupations in the East and in Cœle-Syria, Achæus had made himself the most

[35] Polybius, l. v. c. 82—87. [36] Id. Ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

powerful of the four princes, who now divided among them the inland parts of the peninsula. The centre of his dominion consisted in the usurped countries of Phrygia and Lydia: he had extended his possessions in the north at the expence of Prusias of Bithynia, had confined Attalus of Pergamus within the ancient limits of his small hereditary kingdom; and with Mithridates of Pontus, he had contracted an alliance and received in marriage Laodicé, sister to a princess known also by the same name, formerly married to Antiochus.

Commercial war between the Byzantines and Rhodians. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B.C. 221.

The greatness of Achæus's power appeared in a war, which, during the contest between Ptolemy and Antiochus for Cœle-Syria, the city of Byzantium carried on against the island of Rhodes; the first war on record, originating in principles purely commercial. The Byzantines, to repair the losses sustained by the ravages and impositions of the Gauls, had revived a vexatious toll, anciently established by Athens in the zenith of her maritime power, on all trading vessels which passed into the Euxine.[37] The merchants belonging to the neighbouring seaports of the peninsula exclaimed loudly against the injustice of this imposition. They blamed not less severely the tameness of the Rhodians, then paramount at sea, for permitting a tyran-

[37] The toll established by the Athenians was at Chrysopolis, opposite to Byzantium, now the Asiatic suburb, as it were, of Constantinople. It produced, Demosthenes says, 200 talents, about 40,000l. yearly. Demosthen. advers. Leptin. Conf. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 542.

nous extortion by which they, in common with other commercial states, were sufferers. Thus piqued in their pride as well as stimulated by interest, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Byzantium, requiring the toll to be abolished. Their demand was rejected with scorn; and although the Rhodians declared war, and immediately sent a fleet of ten galleys to the narrow seas; though Prusias, of Bithynia seized the fortress Hieron, and all that part of Mysia which the Byzantines had long occupied; though the Thracians pressed them on the side of Europe, as much as the Bithynians did on that of Asia, they yet remained firm and resolute, in the hope merely that Achæus would espouse their cause; nor, till this hope vanished, did they become willing to purchase peace by abolishing the obnoxious impost.[38]

Reason which hindered Achæus from assisting the Byzantines.

The reason that made Achæus frustrate the expectations which the Byzantines had conceived of him, shows that his filial piety was not unworthy of his great abilities and spirit. His father Andromachus had, before his own rebellion against Antiochus, been made captive in the first scene of the war between that prince and Ptolemy, and was still detained a prisoner in Egypt notwithstanding the friendly dispositions, founded on mutual interest, that began to take place between Achæus and the Egyptian king. The Rhodians, who maintained a close and animated intercourse with Egypt, and a hereditary

[38] Polybius, l. iv. c. 48. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

friendship with the Ptolemies, well knew the eagerness of Achæus to rescue his father from the power of a man so cruel and capricious as Philopator. After repeated solicitations at the court of Alexandria, they at length obtained the liberation of Andromachus; and carrying him in one of their own vessels to his son, thereby determined the latter to abandon all thoughts of interposing in behalf of Byzantium.[39]

Antiochus besieges Achæus in Sardes. Olymp. cxli. 1, 2. B. C. 216, 215.

The conclusion of the Cœle-Syrian war enabled Antiochus to exert his undivided strength against his rebellious kinsman in Lesser Asia. Having penetrated the Cilician passes, he appeared with a well-composed army in the rich Phrygian plain; and after summoning to his standard Attalus of Pergamus, the exasperated enemy of Achæus, in the course of a single campain he divested this usurper of his most valued acquisitions, drove him from the open country, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Sardes the capital of Lydia. Into this place Achæus conducted the flower of his army. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art; the citadel was deemed impregnable; and as Achæus had foreseen the evils likely to fall on him, both had been amply supplied with all necessaries for subsistence and defence. Antiochus sat down before the place, and continued to besiege it during nearly two years, in which space of time many assaults were made by day and night, in all of which the boldness of the

[39] Polybius, l. iv. c. 51.

besiegers was more boldly repelled, and their stratagems encountered and defeated by still superior address. Antiochus, thus baffled in all his attempts, converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to remain before Sardes until hunger should subdue his adversary. [40] CHAP. XIV.

Sardes taken through the cunning of Lagoras the Cretan. Olymp. cxli. 2. B. C. 215.

But he had not long embraced this resolution, when Lagoras, a crafty Cretan, inspired him with hopes of bringing the war to a more speedy issue. Lagoras had learned from a long military experience, that the strongest places were often assailed with most success on that very side, where over-hasty opinion pronounced them impregnable. There was a part of the Sardian walls, joining the citadel with the city, built on craggy rocks, overhanging a rugged valley, and which the besiegers called "the Saw," from the sharp protuberances and notches indenting its summit. That this part of the fortification was unguarded, Lagoras was led to conjecture from the following circumstance. The dead bodies of men and cattle were usually precipitated from "the Saw" into the rocky abyss below it, and the vultures who flocked thither for their prey, often reposed fearless on the high adjacent wall, after gorging themselves among the deep and hollow caverns. Lagoras having carefully examined the place, discerned a part of the wall to which it would not be difficult to make approaches, and securely to fix ladders. [41] He lost no time in communicating his discovery to An-

[40] Polybius, l. vii. c. 15.

[41] Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

tiochus; and requested that, in so arduous an undertaking, he might be assisted by the ready boldness of Theodotus the Etolian, and of Dionysius, who commanded that distinguished portion of the *hypaspists* forming the royal guard. The three adventurers concerted measures among themselves, and made the necessary preparations. For executing their design, they chose a night, of which the latter part would be without benefit from the moon. In the preceding evening, they had selected fifteen men, the stoutest and boldest in the army; who accompanied them, bearing the scaling-ladders. They were followed by thirty others, who, after Lagoras and his companions had passed the walls, and were occupied in removing the bolts or bars on the inside of the gate, might exert themselves as vigorously from without, in destroying its cramps and hinges. Two thousand soldiers succeeded at a due distance, ready, when the gate was burst open, to rush into the area surrounding the theatre, a post highly convenient for their purpose between the city and citadel. The design was executed with an intrepidity and precision equal to the craft and secresy with which it had been concerted. Sheltered by darkness and the projecting brow of a craggy eminence, the assailants made their approaches unperceived, fixed the scaling-ladders to the wall, and at the dawn of morning, at which time the "Saw" was left altogether unguarded, began to climb into the city. They could not be seen because of the interposing

rocks, either by Achæus, commanding the citadel, or his lieutenant Ariobazus, then posted in the city. But they were distinctly viewed by the soldiers in Antiochus's camp, whose mingled emotions at so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle, might have alarmed the enemy, had not a detachment been instantly sent to attack, by way of diversion, the opposite gate on the east, called the Gate of Persia. Ariobazus marched thither with a superior force, and rashly issuing from the gate, engaged in an unseasonable skirmish with the enemy. Achæus, more discerning, sent troops to the western side, towards which he had observed the attention of Antiochus's camp to be directed. But as they had to traverse slowly many rough and intricate paths, they did not arrive in time to hinder the gate near the "Saw" from being broken open, and Lagoras, with upwards of two thousand men, from forming on the area around the theatre. [42]

CHAP. XIV.

When it was discovered that the besiegers had got within the city, Ariobazus returned in such hasty confusion, that many of the enemy entered together with him the gate of Persia. A general assault followed; the entrances were forced open on all sides: Ariobazus, totally overpowered, escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while Sardes became a prey to rapacity and vengeance, and suffered by fire and sword the evils incident to rebellious cities stormed by enraged conquerors.

The city sacked.

[42] Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

Achæus long defends the citadel against the whole Syrian army.

Achæus had the mortification to behold from his fortress the dreadful calamities inflicted on his faithful Sardians, without the possibility of affording them relief. His only resource against death by torture, consisted in the strength of the citadel, and his perseverance in defending it. But Antiochus was not less persevering in the siege; careless of other concerns, provided he could get into his hands this daring rebel.

Ptolemy forms a project for enabling Achæus to escape.

In this situation of affairs, Ptolemy, or rather his minister Sosibius, began to think that they had too much neglected the safety of an ally, whose boldness and dexterity might render him highly useful to their views. The Syrians bore with impatience the long absence of their king; the melancholy firmness of Achæus, a man nearly related to the throne, excited in them mingled sentiments of admiration and pity; and, if he should escape from his strong-hold, and appear unexpectedly at Antioch, a powerful party would be ready to espouse his cause, and enable him to dispute with Antiochus the crown of Syria, which the army had formerly tendered to him. A civil war in Syria would, at any rate, according to the maxims too ordinary in state policy, be advantageous to the neighbouring and rival monarchy of Egypt. Under these impressions, Sosibius applied to Bolis, a Cretan in Ptolemy's service, who had attained all those rewards and honours which the king bestowed on his favourite generals, but whose insatiable mind still sighed after higher accumulations of wealth, and more conspicuous marks of dis-

tinction. Sosibius told the Cretan, that nothing could give him greater merit with Ptolemy, than the suggestion of some expedient by which Achæus might effect his escape from the Sardian citadel.[43] CHAP. XIV.

Converted into the means of delivering Achæus to his enemies. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

The crafty Bolis, having taken a few days for deliberation, returned with a smiling countenance to the minister. He acquainted him that Cambylus, his countryman, his relation, and most intimate friend, commanded for Antiochus a post behind the citadel, which being extremely difficult of access, had not been fortified by walls, but which was strongly guarded, night and day, by a trusty band of Cretans. Upon his connection with Cambylus, Bolis grounded the fairest hopes of success; and Sosibius supplied a bag of money, without which nothing could be done in such an undertaking. He also provided Bolis with letters of credence, written in cipher, to Nichomachus of Rhodes, and Melancomas of Ephesus, confidential agents of Achæus, by means of whom that general had formerly carried on all his secret negociations with Ptolemy. To these men Bolis, sailing first to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephesus, fully communicated his design, towards the success of which he found them most zealous to cooperate. He then sent Arian, an officer who had served under him in Ptolemy's army, to acquaint Cambylus that he had come from Alexandria to hire mercenaries, and to request

[43] Polybius, l. viii. c. 17. et seq.

CHAP. XIV.

him to name the time and place for a private interview.

How this was effected.

In consequence of this message, the two Cretans met in the night: Bolis produced a letter containing the heads of his project. Upon this writing, he and his friend held a consultation highly becoming the flagitious maxims and unprincipled boldness of their country. In this truly Cretan conference, they paid not the smallest regard to the interest of their respective masters; neither of them bestowed a thought on the safety of the unhappy Achæus; the sole point in deliberation was, which of their employers they might dupe with most profit and safety. At length, after examining all the sides and bearings of the affair, they agreed to divide between them ten talents already received from Sosibius, and then to bargain for a new bribe from Antiochus, for betraying Achæus into his hands. Cambylus seized a fit opportunity for opening the business to Antiochus. The king's professions of gratitude corresponded with his transports of joy. Bolis obtained letters of credence in favour of Cambylus and himself, addressed to Achæus by his sincere friends Nichomachus and Melancomas. These letters were delivered to the besieged prince by Arian, for whom Cambylus was careful to procure safe access to the citadel. Achæus, with the distrust of a man long versed in affairs, and whose life was at stake, questioned Arian with equal anxiety and subtlety. The answers which he received from him concerning the enterprise

itself, and all the parties concerned in it, were delivered with an air of genuine truth; for Arian, though privy to the original design in favour of Achæus, was altogether ignorant of the subsequent intrigue for making his rescue from the citadel the means of surrendering him to Antiochus. The behaviour of Arian afforded much satisfaction, he was sent back with an answer to Melancomas, at Ephesus, about fifty miles distant from Sardes; and, through the same messenger, several other letters passed between Achæus and his firm Ephesian friend. At length Achæus wrote to him that he had taken his resolution; he desired, therefore, that Bolis, together with Arian, might be sent to him the first moonless night. Bolis received with alacrity the expected summons to action; and after spending a whole day with Cambylus, to adjust with him their several parts in the plot, was, in the evening that preceded its execution, presented privately to Antiochus in his tent, and by him confirmed in his purpose, through the prospect of vast rewards. From his secret interview with Antiochus, Bolis proceeded to the neighbourhood of the citadel, and there joining Arian, who waited for him, was presently admitted to Achæus. The behaviour of Bolis was frank and manly; and the intrepidity of his looks and words bespoke a character calculated to succeed in enterprises of danger. Yet Achæus did not think fit entirely to trust him. He accordingly pretended, that, for the arrangement of his future pro-

CHAP. XIV.

ceedings, it was necessary that a few of his friends should be placed in safety at Ephesus, before he himself attempted to effectuate his escape. With this view, Bolis and Arian were desired to retire to the gate of the citadel, and to wait there until five persons joined them, whom they were to take under their guidance. Meanwhile Achæus visited his affectionate wife Laodicé, and for the first time disclosed to her the secret of his intended departure. The sudden intelligence disturbed her understanding. He spent a considerable time in endeavouring to calm her disorder; and then assuming a coarse and vulgar habit, with four of his friends dressed as meanly as himself, followed Bolis and Arian to the place appointed, after charging the companions of his flight that one of them only should speak with their conductors. At first Bolis was disconcerted, not knowing which of the fugitives was Achæus, nor indeed whether that prince was of the number; but as they had to pass many rough craggs and dangerous precipices, the attention involuntarily shown by the others in handing and helping the disguised Achæus, enabled the crafty Bolis to discern his victim. When they had advanced to a part of the mountain agreed on between himself and Cambylus, Bolis whistled by way of signal; Cambylus, with a party of armed men, started from their ambush; the former of these traitors grasped Achæus in his arms, and so enveloped him in his own mantle, that he was unable to

use his dagger. The four others were secured by the followers of Cambylus. CHAP. XIV.

Achæus, in bonds, was brought that same night to Antiochus, who lay sleepless in his tent waiting the event. At sight of an adversary, long the object of his terror, now humbled in the dust, Antiochus remained confused and speechless, until his faculties were revived by the warmth of sympathetic tears, which flowed plenteously at a spectacle so impressive of the sad vicissitudes of fortune. Achæus brought to Antiochus in bonds. Behaviour of the latter.

His compassion, if it ever reached the heart, was dissipated next morning by the presence of his ministers and generals. In a council, hastily assembled in the royal tent, it was agreed that Achæus should suffer the death of a traitor. The extremities were dissevered from his trunk, which, wrapped in an ass's skin, was fixed on a cross. On the highest part of that instrument of torture, the head, separated from the body, and uncovered, declared the unhappy criminal; a man ennobled by many virtues, before the deceitfulness of prosperity conspired with royal ingratitude to drive him into rebellion.[44] Punishment of the former.

The tumultuary acclamations of the camp, which accompanied his execution, were deeply suspected by Laodicé, who alone was apprised of her husband's flight, and inwardly trembled for his safety. A herald soon arrived in the citadel, to announce the fate of Achæus. That fortress was filled, first with lamentation, and Spirit of his wife Laodicé.

[44] Polybius, l. viii. c. 17—23.

CHAP. XIV.

then with discord. Antiochus renewed his assaults, which finally prevailed; the high-minded Laodicé in vain exhorting her adherents still to persevere in resistance, rather than submit to the murderer of their long-admired general.

Antiochus's successful expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. Olymp. cxli. 3, cxliv. 1. B.C. 214—204.

Antiochus having thus punished the revolt in Lesser Asia, with as signal vengeance as he had formerly inflicted on that of Media, thought himself destined to extinguish rebellion in every part of the empire. For upwards of thirty years the Parthians and Bactrians had refused tribute and disavowed allegiance. The former of these countries was now governed by Arsaces III., the latter by Euthydemus, also the third Greek king of Bactria, and who, by fortunate enterprise, had risen to that throne from the condition of a humble citizen of Ionian Magnesia.[45] With a well-appointed army, Antigonus marched into those outlying countries; traversed, as conqueror, Parthia with its maritime appendage of Hyrcania, and granted peace to Arsaces, only on condition that he followed his standard against the more formidable Euthydemus. This prince, to remove the war from his own country, encountered Antiochus in the contiguous province of Aria: a great battle ensued, in which the Syrian king signalised his personal prowess, and obtained a glorious victory, after his horse had been killed under him, and his teeth had been dashed out by a hideous wound

[45] Polybius, l. xi. c. 34. Conf. Bayer, Histor. Regn. Bactrian.

in the mouth. Previously to the action, he had deceived the enemy by passing the river Arius in the night, when its banks were unguarded; and in the battle itself, he had sustained with firmness the repeated charges of new bodies of cavalry continually succeeding to each other: a mode of warfare which the Bactrians should seem to have adopted from their neighbours the Scythians.

Peace with Euthydemus king of Bactria.

Euthydemus retreated precipitately to his capital Bactra [46], and thence dispatched ambassadors to Antiochus to propose terms of accommodation. Among other arguments employed to stop the progress of the conqueror, Euthydemus observed, that he himself had never revolted from the Syrian monarchy, but, on the contrary, had mounted the throne of Bactria by punishing the descendant of a rebel. To this remark he added, that vast swarms of Scythians were actually hovering on his northern frontier; and that, if Bactria was weakened by a civil war among Greeks; not only that country, but the more central provinces of Asia, might be desolated and barbarised by those formidable Nomades. Antiochus felt the weight of this latter argument; and when Euthydemus sent his son Demetrius to adjust terms between them, he was so much delighted with the behaviour and conversation of the young Bactrian, that he promised to give him one of his own daughters in marriage, consenting, at the same time, that his

[46] Polybius, l. x. c. 49., says Zariaspa, another name for the same place.

CHAP. XIV.

father should continue to maintain the name and state of independent royalty.[47]

Renews the treaty with the Indian Sophagesimus.

Antiochus remained thenceforward above seven years in Upper Asia, in which time he governed ably the valuable countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. On the banks of the latter, he renewed his friendship with the Indian Sophagesimus, and returned from his eastern expedition to Seleucia-Babylonia with vast treasures, and with one hundred and fifty elephants.[48] Shortly afterwards, we find him below the mouth of the Euphrates, rescuing the commercial city Gerra[49], on the Persian gulph, from the grasp of Arabian robbers. In return for this favour, he was rewarded by the Gerræans with a profusion of spices and perfumes, as well as with large contributions in gold and silver, all of which, as we have seen, were the usual articles of traffic in that wealthy emporium.[50]

Rescues Gerra from the Arabians.

Philopator's proceedings in Jerusalem. Olymp. cxl. 4. B. C. 217.

In the same year that Antiochus, after a long and glorious absence, revisited his capital on the Orontes, he was delivered from all danger on the side of Egypt by the death of Philopator, whose debaucheries brought him to the grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. That slothful tyrant had, contrary to the expectations of his subjects, defeated Antiochus in the decisive battle of Raphia, and

[47] Polybius, l. x. c. 48. et seq. [48] Id. l. xi. c. 54.

[49] He confirmed the ελευθερια, national independence of Gerra. Polyb. i. xiii. c. 9.

[50] See above, vol. i. p. 247.

thereby gained possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine. He remained in these provinces three months after the battle, and was received by the inhabitants of the country, as well as by every city into which he entered, with professions of submission and loyalty, which, in intermediate territories, often fluctuating between two great rival kingdoms, were not restrained by any remains of allegiance to their former master. His transactions, however, at Jerusalem have been alone thought worthy of record.[51] Ptolemy surveyed the antique grandeur of the city, offered oblations to Jehovah, and dedicated valuable presents in his temple. But not contented with viewing that edifice from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was permitted to pass, he desired to proceed through the holy house, into the most holy sanctuary, where none of the Jews themselves could lawfully enter, except the high-priest alone; and even that sacred magistrate but once only in the year, on the great day of expiation. The king was informed of the unsurmountable objection to the gratification of his curiosity. But though the priests, in their solemn array and august vestments, entreated him to desist from a purpose not allowable even in the ministers of the temple, he answered roughly, that *his* authority was not to be controuled by *their* laws.[52]

CHAP. XIV.

[51] They are related in 3 Maccabees throughout, and in Rufinus's Latin edition of Josephus, l. ii. cont. Apion, in which, however, the name of Ptolemy Physcon is by mistake substituted for that of Ptolemy Philopator.

[52] Ει εκεινοι εσεφηνται ταυτης της τιμης, εμε ε δει. Macca.

CHAP. XIV.

His attempt to enter the sanctuary frustrated.

The whole city was in commotion. While the high priest Simon prayed to Jehovah to defend his own sanctuary, to Jehovah who, inhabiting the highest heavens, into which no mortal could ascend, had yet consecrated a chosen spot for the monument of his glory and his worship, a promiscuous multitude, of every age and either sex, filled the air with such loud and lamentable wailings, that it seemed as if not only human voices, but the walls and streets from their foundation had deprecated the frantic impiety of the king. His purpose was unalterable; but as he pressed from the inner court to the sanctuary, he was shaken "like a reed by the wind, and fell speechless on the ground." We have seen, on a former occasion, that with the most beastly profligacy, he united the most abject superstition; and it is unnecessary to inquire, whether his body was agitated by external force, or whether the Almighty shook him more dreadfully from within, by the guilty terrors of his conscience. He was carried from the temple half dead by his body-guards; and, upon his recovery, made haste to leave Jerusalem.

His rage vents itself in cruelty towards the Jews in Alexandria. Olymp. cxli. 1. B. C. 216.

At his return to Alexandria, he carried with him his resentment against the Jews, who were more numerous in that capital than even in Jerusalem itself, and who had long enjoyed in Egypt all the privileges of those Greeks and Macedonians who formed the first class of citizens or subjects.[53] Ptolemy published a de-

[53] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 797.

cree degrading them from this rank, and ordering them to be enrolled among the lowest casts of Egyptians. As an additional insult, they were to be stigmatised in their bodies by the figure of an ivy leaf, in honour of the god Bacchus[54]: and none who refused compliance with the established rites of paganism, were allowed access to the gates of the palace, which, as the judges commonly sat there, amounted to a sentence of outlawry against the whole nation. Notwithstanding these cruel and disgraceful penalties, scarcely three hundred Jews apostatised from their religion; and those who had the meanness to embrace that measure for the sake of worldly advantages, met with ineffable disdain from their brethren. This contempt of his authority provoked Ptolemy to madness. The Jews were dragged as the worst of criminals from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, and many thousands were shut up in the hippodrome of that city, to be destroyed for public sport by elephants rendered furious with frankincense and wine. The horrid show was twice adjourned, because Ptolemy in consequence of his drunken carousals, happened to outsleep the times appointed; and on the third day the intoxicated elephants, instead of attacking the Jewish victims, turned their chief rage against the Egyptian spectators. This unexpected catastrophe, accompanied with other extraordinary[55] circumstances, again over-

CHAP. XIV.

[54] 2 Maccab. c. vi. v. 7.

[55] Angels descended, φοβεροειδεις, "of frightful forms," visible to all but the Jews. 3 Maccab. p. 892. Edit. Francofurt.

CHAP. XIV.

whelmed Ptolemy with religious terror; he rescinded his odious decree, and revoked his execrable orders: the Jews, faithful to their law, were reinstated in all their privileges: and in the true spirit of capricious despotism, Ptolemy made atonement for his cruelty to themselves by the more cruel permission of retaliating it on their apostate brethren. [57]

Civil war in Egypt.

Tame as the Egyptians always were, and as the Greeks and Macedonians had recently become, it was not to be expected that they should continue to pay implicit submission to such an execrable tyrant. To oppose Antiochus in the great battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had armed a larger proportion of Egyptians than were usually admitted into the service. This circumstance, inspiring them with confidence, occasioned a civil war, not distinguished by any recorded exertions either of skill or valour, but abominably disgraced by the enormities perpetrated alike by the contending parties. While it lasted, Egypt must have indeed been the scene of bloodshed, if, of the Jewish inhabitants only, forty thousand perished in the contest. [57]

Abilities and crimes of the minister Sosibius. — Death of Philopator.

Ptolemy prevailed over the insurgents through the relative superiority of his generals, and the real abilities of his minister Sosibius, a man grown old in government, and unprincipled as he was, or rather because totally unprincipled, an indispensably useful instrument under such a

[56] 3 Maccab. c. iii. v. 4, 5.
[57] Eusebius in Chronic. p. 185.

CHAP. XIV.

tyrannical reign.[58] He was fertile in expedients, of great presence of mind, with boldness to adopt vigorous measures, and penetration to discern energetic agents. What Ptolemy most admired in his minister was his cruel dexterity in removing secretly, by the cup or the dagger, all those whom it would have been dangerous openly to destroy. In this number was the high-minded Arsinoë, Philopator's queen and sister, who, while her husband wallowed in the lowest sensuality, still sustained with dignity the honours of her rank and birth. Her murder, which Sosibius effected through the agency of his creature Philammon[59], destroyed the last restraint on the headstrong profligacy of the king. The abominable Agathoclean family, contrivers or instruments of every pollution, governed him absolutely; and at the time of his obscure death[60], held the wealth and strength of Egypt so firmly in their hands, that unawed by Sosibius, now loaded with years and the weight of his crimes, Agathocles assumed the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and with that the government of the kingdom. When he had confirmed his usurpation by donatives to the soldiers, and by the murder[61] of all those who were likely to dispute

Olymp. cxliv. 1. B. C. 204.

The abominable Agathoclean family.—Their proceedings.

[58] Polybius, l. xv. c. 25. [59] Id. ibid. c. 33.

[60] His death was long concealed by those who managed affairs under him. (Justin, l. xxx. c. 2.), so that the date of it is a matter of dispute with chronologers. Vaillant, Hist. Ptolem. p. 68.

[61] As Sosibius disappears at this time, it may be conjectured that his old age did not protect him against Agathocles's jealousy. This conjecture is corroborated by the particular mention of Sosibius and his villanies in the same chapter of Polybius, in which we are told that Agathocles destroyed all his rivals. Polyb. l. xv. c. 25.

CHAP. XIV.

his authority, he promoted to the first employments of the state and army, servile mercenaries and low mechanics, most of them creatures debased still more by vileness of mind, than meanness of condition. At the head of such a court, Agathocles gave free scope to proceedings, if possible, more flagitious than those by which his late master had provoked a civil war. The Alexandrians murmured, communicated their complaints, and secretly corresponded with the military commanders in the provinces, entreating them to march to their assistance against an usurper, who trusting to the protection of the city guards, seduced by his largesses, raged with unbridled fury against the inhabitants of the capital.

Conspiracy against them.

Tlepolemus, a general of abilities and enterprise, undertook their defence. By means of the posts which he occupied in the inland country, he was enabled to intercept the ordinary supplies of corn and other necessaries, which were wafted down the Nile to feed a profuse court, a numerous garrison, and a city long crowded with inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. The correspondence between the Alexandrians and Tlepolemus escaped the notice of Agathocles and his agents, until the different bodies of troops stationed in the capital began to be infected with sedition. Their rapacity had much lowered his treasury; from the vicinity of their encampments to the dwellings of the citizens, they enjoyed a free communication with the latter, and were moved by their unceasing

CHAP. XIV.

complaints; compassion gaining easier access to their mercenary minds as cruelty grew less profitable.

Agathocles's artifices to regain his credit with the soldiers.

The tyrant, alarmed by his danger, had recourse to those called the royal guards, a body of six thousand men, holding the first rank in the Egyptian service. He proceeded to their camp, bringing with him Agathoclea, and Ptolemy, a child five[62] years old, whom he showed to the soldiers, and whose fate he bewailed in a strain of dramatic lamentation too artful to be affecting. When he had mounted a tribunal, and raised the young prince in his arms, "Him," he said, "the descendant of your ancient kings, his father at the hour of death placed in the hands of her, (pointing to Agathoclea,) who is altogether unable to ward off the unforeseen danger; you only, Macedonians, can defend him, and confirm in his throne this rightful heir, ready to be assailed by disloyal ambition.[63]" He then produced witnesses to prove that Tlepolemus had taken measures for usurping the crown. But the soldiers, instead of regarding his proofs, or the tears which he shed in abundance, treated him with scorn. He met with a similar reception from the other divisions of the city guards, to which he successively applied; many soldiers meanwhile arriving by the Nile from the distant nomes or provinces, and reinforcing the malecontents.

Treated by them with scorn.

[62] Justin, l. xxx. c. ii. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

[63] Polybius, l. xv. c. 26.

CHAP. XIV.

Incidents which precipitate his destruction.

In this posture of affairs, the instruments of the tyrant, upon some secret accusation, seized Danäe, mother-in-law to Tlepolemus, as she returned from making her supplications in the temple of Ceres, and dragged her unveiled through the streets to prison. This most unseasonable outrage still farther exasperated the Alexandrians. In the night, writings upbraiding Agathocles were stuck up in every part of the city; and public meetings were held in the day-time, to declare the universal indignation against his government. The trembling usurper had not made preparations for flight; he had not spirit for any great enterprise, nor courage to seek death at the head of his remaining partisans. Meanwhile Mœragenes, one of his life-guards, was accused of treacherously corresponding with Tlepolemus. He was committed for examination to Nicostratus, the tyrant's secretary; who, upon his refusal to confess, ordered the executioners to prepare their instruments of torture. The victim was already stripped, the scourges were already raised to lacerate his body; a sad prelude to more direful sufferings. At that moment, an attendant entered the apartment, whispered Nicostratus in the ear, and hastily withdrew. Nicostratus followed, as quickly, without speaking a word, but smiting continually his thigh in token of inward anguish. The cause of his distress is not explained: there was enough of bad news to be communicated. The executioners stood motionless expecting his return; but after long waiting for him in vain,

dropped away one after the other. Mœragenes was thus left naked and alone in a remote apartment of the palace. He betook himself to flight through such galleries as he fortunately found open, and was so happy as to reach in safety the nearest tents of his Macedonian countrymen. The soldiers were assembled at their forenoon's repast, when the arrival of Mœragenes, the strange plight in which he came, his frightful danger, and surprising escape, determined them to seize the present moment for destroying Agathocles and his family. They proceeded to the farther tents of the Macedonians, and of the other troops which were all nearly contiguous in the same quarter of the city. CHAP. XIV.

When Agathocles learned these proceedings, and still farther, that Tlepolemus was on his way to join the insurgents, he behaved like a man altogether bereaved of understanding. As if nothing extraordinary had happened, he retired calmly to supper, and indulged in his habitual intemperance. But his mother Oenanthé, repaired to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was then open for the celebration of the Thesmophorean festival, an august commemoration of the benefits conferred by those goddesses, in the introduction of agriculture and the institutions of settled and civilised life. While with piteous wailings, and in a dejected posture, she invoked Heaven to avert the evils that threatened her, and which her complicated wickedness had most justly deserved, the assembled matrons of Alexandria enjoyed her fearful humi- Behaviour of Agathocles and his mother Oenanthé.

CHAP. XIV.

liation; a few only vouchsafed some broken expressions of pity, and drew near to learn more clearly the cause of her affliction. But Oenanthé with the voice and sentiments congenial to her depraved character and infamous life, cried out, "approach me not, wild beasts! I know your hatred to me and mine: you are praying the gods to inflict on us the worst of sufferings; but I hope, with Heaven's help! to make you devour your own children." With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them to a distance. The women retired, holding up their hands in amazement!

Tumult in Alexandria,—the young king seized by the insurgents.

In every family, indignation now redoubled against the public enemies. As darkness came on, the whole city was filled with tumult, men running in opposite directions with lights in their hands, and many flying in darkness to places of concealment. A mixed multitude crowded the stadium and hippodrome, the broad avenues leading to the theatre of Bacchus, above all, the spacious courts surrounding the palace. Agathocles was roused by the uproar from the stupor of his debauch; he flew to the young king, and taking him by the hand conducted him to a covered gallery [64], which joined the gymnasium to the royal garden, called the Mæander from its intricate walks and winding porticoes. In this subterranean passage, the fugitives were joined by the family and principal friends of Agathocles, all, except Philon, one of the most

[64] The Syringe. Polyb. l. xv. c. 30.

profligate of the number. They passed two latticed doors, strongly secured by iron bolts. All night long, they remained in this concealment, when the insurgents were heard in the morning demanding the person of their king. Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, then attended Agathocles as one of his most devoted partisans, and most assiduous flatterers. This man alone, who afterwards governed Egypt with probity and dignity, ventured to pass through a wicket, with a view to appease the multitude. He was empowered to offer, on the part of Agathocles, the surrender of office, rank, wealth; in a word, every thing to save his life. Aristomenes with difficulty defended his own, and was sent back by the enraged multitude with orders to bring with him young Ptolemy. Upon the return of Aristomenes, and when the first door was burst open, Agathocles extended through the lattice of the second, his supplicating hands, while Agathoclea implored compassion by her breasts, which, she said, had been the source of life to their sovereign. But nothing could appease the public fury until the production of young Ptolemy, who was seized by the insurgents, conveyed on horseback to the stadium, and placed in the seat there appropriated during public shows to the king. Sosibius, son to the late minister, observing, that the child was frightened at the noise and the unknown persons with whom he was surrounded, asked him, whether he abandoned to just punishment those who had been enemies to himself, his family,

CHAP. XIV.

CHAP. XIV.

and his country. The child nodded assent; and Sosibius with general approbation then conveyed him to his own house, which was in that neighbourhood; while a body of armed men returned to the palace to drag from thence the whole Agathoclean family, with their now despairing adherents.

Destruction of the Agathoclean family and their adherents.

Before they were brought to the stadium, Philon, already mentioned, first appeared there, still under the influence of his debauch of the preceding day. His drunken insolence subjected him to a sudden death. The same swift destruction fell on Agathocles himself, who was no sooner brought bound into the stadium, than he was dispatched by the hasty anger of his enemies, thus disappointing their own sterner purposes of long torturing vengeance. The females of his family were carried naked on horseback through the streets; and torn in pieces by the multitude. The house of Philammon, who had been the instrument in murdering Arsinoé, was broke open, and himself, together with his wife and children, destroyed with indignant fury by those who had been the female companions of that high-minded princess: for the popular insurrections in Egypt and in Carthage are said to have been distinguished in the following particular from those of Greece and Rome, that boys and women had the indecency to mingle in them openly with men, and thereby to inflame their rage, and exasperate their violence. [65]

[65] Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.

CHAP. XIV.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator was thus followed by funeral games, becoming such a prince, and descriptive of manners so infamous, and of persons so contemptible, that nothing but their abuse of supreme power in a great kingdom could entitle them to a moment's regard. Agathocles, indeed, was the mere child of fortune, and ruined by the same odious vices through which he had risen to greatness under a profligate master. Both his exaltation and depression were thus occasioned by external and vulgar circumstances: they flowed not from inherent peculiarities in his own nature, like those of his execrable namesake the bloody tyrant of Sicily; whose destinies, frightful as they were, originating solely in his own tremendous energies, are thereby better calculated to excite interest in history. After the removal of Agathocles, the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and by consequence the government of Egypt, fell successively into the hands of Sosibius, of Tlepolemus, and of Aristomenes.[66] Of the two first, the administration was short, and its events unimportant; but we shall be called in the course of this history, to commemorate the rare merits of Aristomenes.

Reflection thereon.

Notwithstanding the follies and the vices of Ptolemy Philopator, arts and sciences had taken such firm root in Alexandria, that it would have been impossible for that profligate prince to destroy them. But Philopator, detestable as

Arts and letters under the reign of Philopator.

[66] Polybius. Conf. l. xvi. c. 82. & l. xv. c. 31.

CHAP. XIV.

his own character was, inherited from his ancestors a passion for letters and philosophy. He is said to have delighted in the conversation of Sphærus the Stoic [67]; and all the four ancient sects continued to flourish during his reign; as well as the four new schools, of criticism, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. Philopator dedicated a temple to Homer, adorned with an admired statue of the sublime bard. [68] The poets of his own age attained not celebrity. Rhianus [69] treated an interesting subject, the ancient Messenian wars: and from his now lost poem, many interesting particulars of those wars had been received into history, and thus transmitted to posterity. Euphorion of Chalcis, a voluminious writer in heroic verse [70], became librarian to Antiochus III., Philopator's contemporary and rival. The historians Phylarchus and Chrysippus flourished in the same age [71]: we know not the merit of their matter, but their style, particularly that of the former [72], was disgraced by those inelegancies and distortions which deformed the works of Hegesias, Duris, and other historians of whom we have before spoken. Aristophanes, the scholar of Eratosthenes, distinguished himself in the walks of philology and criticism; and as a mechanician, Heron, who lived down to this reign, has left

[67] Diogen. Laert. l. vii. s. 185.
[68] Ælian Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 22. [69] Pausanias, Messenic.
[70] Suidas ad Voc. [71] Scholiast in Apollon. l. iv.
[72] Dionys. Halicarn. de Composit. Verbor.

works [73] that may be still read with profit. But, under the reign of such a capricious prince as Philopator, the most useful knowledge could not fail to be often strangely misapplied. This is illustrated in his far-famed galley of forty tier of oars, surpassing in magnitude all moving castles before or after it. Since the great enlargement of war-ships under Alexander's first successors, the Greek kings of the East were no longer contented with quadriremes and quinqueremes, the rates most serviceable in battle, but vied with each other in constructing vessels of a stupendous magnitude, which answered no other purpose but that of gratifying a vanity alike idle and expensive. Philopator's quadragintareme measured 420 feet in length, and 72 feet in height to the loftiest ornaments of the stern [74], far exceeded in dimensions a modern ship of the largest size carrying one hundred and twenty cannons. This unwieldy machine was impelled by 4000 rowers, steered and manœuvred by 400 sailors, and its batteries were manned by 3000 marines. The same prince built a vessel 330 feet long, but of the disproportionate breadth of 45 feet, because designed chiefly for the navigation of the Nile. It was named Thalamegus [75], as containing the haram, or women's apartment, with most other luxuries of a royal palace. Such also were the accom-

[73] Hero, jun. de Machin. Bell. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. et Fabricius, l. iii. c. 24.

[74] Athenæus, l. v. p. 203. et seq. The breadth is not given.

[75] Id. ibid.

CHAP. XIV. modations of the moving fortress, which will be described hereafter, constructed by Hieron of Syracuse, and which is said to have actually sailed from that city to Alexandria.[56]

[56] Athenæus, l. v. p. 209.

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